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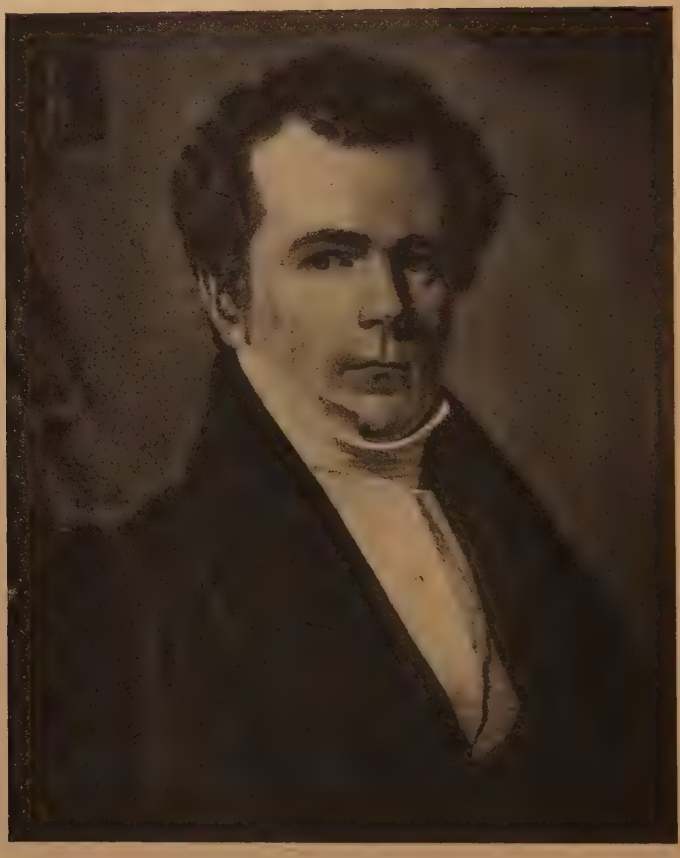
A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Volume VI



ELY MOORE

Labor's first congressman, 1834-1838, president of the General Trades' Union of New York, 1833-1835, and president of the National Trades' Union, 1834-1835

(From a crayon portrait presented to Ely Moore by President Andrew Jackson in 1837)

973

A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Edited by John R. Commons
Ulrich B. Phillips, Eugene A. Gilmore
Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews

Prepared under the auspices of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, with the co-operation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington

With preface by Richard T. Ely
and introduction by John B. Clark

Volume VI

Labor Movement

Cleveland, Ohio
The Arthur H. Clark Company
1910

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From a crayon portrait presented to Ely Moore by President Andrew Jackson in 1837

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VI

GENERAL TRADES' UNION OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA

[*Continued and Completed from volume v.*]

3. THE CORDWAINERS

(a) A STATEMENT OF GRIEVANCES

Pennsylvanian, April 4, 1835, p. 2, col. 6.
This address was adopted at a meeting of Cordwainers at which a resolution was passed highly approving of the Trades' Union.

To the JOURNEYMEN CORDWAINERS of the City and County of Philadelphia.

FELLOW CRAFTSMEN: We have been called together for the purpose of devising some means to benefit our trade. But before we can adopt any measures to benefit our condition we must first ascertain what our real condition is; and if our trade labors under any difficulties, what are the causes which have produced them – and then we can with a greater degree of certainty apply the proper remedy.

In the first place then, what is our condition? Need such a question be asked? Are we not all fully convinced that we have to work a greater number of hours, and for less wages than any other class of mechanics? It is evident that we are, while numbers of other tradesmen are receiving from eight to twelve dollars per week for their labor, and in many instances, only working ten hours per day, we have been content with the scanty pittance of from four to six dollars, and for that sum have to work, in many instances, fourteen hours per day.

This, fellow craftsmen, is not an exaggerated statement, for it has been proved, on an examination of the books of one of the largest manufacturing establish-

ments, in the men's branch, in this city, that the average wages of from thirty to fifty men there employed does not exceed four dollars and twenty-five cents each week; and to make this fact more manifest, it is almost unnecessary to revert to the fact, that when one of our trade earns from nine to ten dollars per week, his fame as a ready workman is trumpeted throughout the city. But the general opinions of our employers, are, that if one of their journeymen makes more than two pair of first rate boots, or four, or at most, five pair of feet at $1.12½ per pair, justice is not done to the work, and he is consequently limited in the quantity to be made.

We are now led to enquire what causes have produced this deplorable result – whether it has been the grinding avarice of our employers or our own negligence. And in this enquiry we will no doubt find that both are to blame; but that the journeymen, of the two parties, are the most culpable.

If we take a retrospective view of our trade, we will find, that but a few years ago the slowest of our profession could earn at least seven or eight dollars per week, and that, by no greater exertion than it now requires to make four or five – that such an article as boots was then unknown in the Market street shops: the manufacturing of that article being confined exclusively to those, who having served an apprenticeship to the business, knew best its value.

Unfortunately for us, a difference took place between the journeymen and employers – the employers desirous of restraining the just demands of their journeymen – and the journeymen determined to secure their rights. A fatal measure was then adopted by the journeymen – no less a one than opening shops for the manufacture of cheap work – this was done for the purpose of coercing

employers into their measures – and as a means of giving themselves employment until their demands were satisfied. But had they looked for one moment into the results of such an experiment, (for it was but an experiment), had they contemplated the fatal effects of their actions on future generations, so far as their own trade was concerned; they certainly never would have went so far to carry their own measures, as to retail a load of misery on all who were to come after them.

From that time to the present the trade has been gradually sinking, at least so far as the interests of the journeymen were concerned. "The cunning men of the East" have come to our city, and having capital themselves, or joining with those who had, have embarked in our business, and realized large fortunes, by reducing our wages, making large quantities of work, and selling at a reduced price, while those who had served their time to the trade, and had an anxious desire to foster and cherish its interests, have had to abandon the business, or enter into the system of manufacturing largely [i.e., on a large scale], in order to save themselves from bankruptcy.

But fellow craftsmen – the causes of our present condition are not all told – only three years since, and a journeyman working on this cheap work, could earn from 25 to 33 per cent more than he can at present – whence arises this disparity in the wages of the journeyman? How can it be that without any positive reduction of our wages, we are unable to earn more than two thirds as much as we were a short time ago? The answer is plain and simple – by making cheap work, triple the quantity has to be made to obtain a living: this produces, at dull seasons, a surplus of work in the market; and these large manufacturers taking advan-

tage of the times, have compelled their journeymen to make the work so far superior to the manner in which it was originally made for the wages given, that it is now brought into competition with first rate work.

This again lessens the quantity of first-rate work made, and the journeymen, formerly working for employers who gave them $2.75 for each pair of boots made, are forced to seek employment of the very men who had ruined their business. Thus it is that journeymen who formerly worked on nothing but first-rate work, are brought into direct competition with those of inferior abilities in point of workmanship; and they in turn are compelled to spend their time, to improve their work, without the most distant hope of a remuneration for their labor – or else they are discharged and the better workmen continued in their places. . .

What is the proper remedy for the evils under which we suffer? What are the best means of benefitting our trade? These are questions more easily asked than answered. But, fellow-craftsmen, one thing is certain – if we do not attempt to remedy our condition, ourselves, no one will do it for us: and so long as we continue separate and disunited we can accomplish nothing. "In union there is strength" is a motto inscribed on our banner. It is a maxim universally admitted that where the journeymen mechanics, of any branch, are perfectly united, their just demands would be immediately acknowledged, and their rights secured to them.

Why is it then that we cannot unite, when all admit that union is imperiously demanded to secure and maintain our rights? It must be that the efforts made to obtain it have not been sufficiently vigorous, or that they have been too soon relinquished. Let us then begin the business in good earnest – and when once united, we

can with a surety of success, apply the proper remedy for existing evils. We have a rallying point – we have a society comprising upwards of two hundred members, with a fund exceeding $1,000 – with such a beginning as this, how easily can we accomplish the desired object. But besides this, there is the Trades Union, of which the United Beneficial Society of Journeymen Cordwainers is a member, and the first one too – and shall it be said that we, the Journeymen Cordwainers, can lend our aid to raise up such a glorious Institution, and cannot help ourselves? Shall we entail the wretched state we are in, on our posterity? Are we willing to have our memories desecrated for not lending a helping hand to better the condition of mechanics? Other mechanics are awake to their interests: already are Trade's Unions formed in New York, Boston, Albany, Newark, Baltimore, and Washington, and nearly all the towns of the North and East. Nor is Philadelphia behind her neighbors; twenty-two societies are already in the Union, with a certain prospect of several others.

We alone, of all the prominent trades, are slumbering at our posts – true we are in the Union, but if we lack numbers to carry our points, of what advantage can the Union be to us?

We would conjure you by all the ties of our common kindred to unite with us in one effort to renovate our trade. We would entreat you no longer to neglect your business as a thing unworthy your attention – the interests of your trade gone – all is gone – and your condition will be little if any, better than the serfs of Europe. Already has grasping avarice and monopoly shorn us of many of our rights; already has aristocracy reared its hideous form in our country, and is making rapid strides towards enslaving us for ever.

The Declaration of Independence "holds these truths

to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal," how can we be free while we have no controul over the price of the only commodity we have to dispose of – our labor? How can we be equal when we are the slaves of heartless monopolists? Call it what you will fellow-craftsmen, our condition is a species of slavery. True, we assemble on the 4th of July and mingle our shouts of approbation as we hear the invaluable Declaration of Independence read – we may join the multitude in paying fulsome adulation to some popular orator, as he discants on the many blessings we enjoy in the land of Liberty, and flatter ourselves for the time, that what he says is true, that we do enjoy to the fullest extent, the liberties the blood of our revolutionary fathers bequeathed to us: but, when we leave the festive board, and return to our humble homes; when the thrilling accents of eloquence have ceased to vibrate on the ear, and sober reason resumes her sway – then, fellow-mechanics, do we awake to the sad reality of our condition – then, is the flimsy veil which blinded us to our true interest, drawn aside, and we behold ourselves in our real characters, humble, dependent and miserable – we behold ourselves, perhaps, the slave of some haughty tyrant, who to augment his already overflowing coffers, is perhaps at that very moment, framing some pretext for reducing our scanty wages; and secretly rejoicing, that the dollar we have spent on our country's natal day, enables him the better to accomplish his object.

Let us then set about making ourselves free indeed – before we boast of our freedom – let us take measures to enjoy, and secure that freedom after it is obtained.

To accomplish this object, trade societies are the first and best means – they will make us acquainted with

our own interest – and with one another – they will bring the grievances of each member to a general focus – and we can there determine the mode of redressing them. Trades' Unions are the next means, and will prove the bulwarks of our rights and privileges – there, the strength of all the societies are brought to bear against any object of oppression – and what power can resist such a tower of strength: with such means as those at hand, we can easily remedy all the evils of which we complain: if we fail to use them, or use them to our prejudice, the fault be ours, the cause is, in all events worthy of our best efforts. By these means our interests will be supported – liberal employers will be supported – the rapacious will be checked in their evil courses – and the blessings of our glorious free institutions, fully realized by the worthy mechanic.
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(b) THE ATTITUDE OF THE EMPLOYERS

Pennsylvanian, June 15, 1835, p. 2, col. 7.

Shortly before this time a meeting of the journeymen had been held at which it was announced that the society had received three hundred new members since the beginning of the strike. And on June 22, the journeymen stated that "upwards of 140 employers" had acceded to their demands.

At a large adjourned meeting of the ladies shoe dealers and manufacturers of the city and county of Philadelphia held at the Military Hall on the 11th instant, Nathan Hall in the chair, M. Grier, jr. was appointed secretary.

The following preamble and resolutions were presented by a committee appointed at a previous meeting and unanimously adopted.

Whereas, the laboring portion of this community have made a general strike for what they consider their

just rights, knowing, that if they were longer to permit the growing encroachments of capital upon labor, they would soon be unable to make any resistance; and whereas, the journeymen cordwainers of the ladies branch participating in the general desire of bettering the condition of mechanics, have struck for an advance of wages; and being fully satisfied that their demands are just and equitable, they being forced thereto by the enhancement in price of every article, either of comfort or convenience, we feel a desire to aid and encourage them in their effort to obtain an adequate compensation for their labor—and whereas, to enable the employers to sustain the rightful demands of the journeymen, and at the same to secure to themselves a proper remuneration for their services, it is necessary for them to increase the price of the work by them made, believing, that if any loss is to be sustained, those who consume the products of labor ought at least to bear their proportion. With a view to effect these desirable objects, and for the purpose of establishing the trade on a firm, equitable and permanent basis, through the means of a co-operation with the journeymen—be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we consider the demands of the journeymen such as are dictated by the price of living, rents, &c. And knowing that the pittance hitherto earned by them is entirely insufficient for their support, we do hereby agree to comply with their demands generally, and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to support and sustain them.

RESOLVED, that the price hitherto received for ladies shoes is not sufficient to remunerate those engaged in their manufacture, much less to afford an advance of wages to the journeymen. And we believe that the sys-

tem of ruinous competition now pursued, "is more honored in the breach than in the observance."

And believing also that a trifling advance in the price of shoes would scarcely be felt by general society, while it would give us the means of rewarding liberally, the journeymen for their labor, and at the same time afford a living to all engaged in the business. And to produce these desirable objects, we will agree to be governed hereafter by a list of prices for our work, which will render our business uniform and permanent.

RESOLVED, that we will form ourselves into an association for the purpose of giving regularity and stability to our present efforts – and that a committee of ten be appointed to confer with the journeymen, with a view to the furtherance of these objects.

RESOLVED, that the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the daily papers. . .

(c) THE PRESSURE OF COMPETITION

Pennsylvanian, June 20, 1835, p. 2, col. 7.
Preamble and resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Ladies' Cordwainers' Society, June 18, 1835.

. . . Whereas, the Journeymen Cordwainers of the city and county of Philadelphia, on the ladies branch, in their late strike for higher wages being impressed that they have not sought more than justice demands, or than an impartial public would be willing to allow; for it is a well known fact that they have to toil more hours (and even with their advance of wages, their pecuniary remuneration is still much less) than any other class of working men; and

Whereas, there are many employers of this city, who have made off of the labor of journeymen a liberal fortune, and now refuse to accede to the justice of our de-

mands, and in order to evade the same they are preparing materials (in this city) in order to send them into the towns of the Eastern States (where living and labor are cheaper, and workmanship not so good) to get the same made into shoes, then to be brought here and sold for Philadelphia manufacture, thereby imposing on the community at large, and entailing ruin on one of the most extensive trades of our fair city; a trade that at a moderate computation employs fifteen hundred men in the manufacture alone, independent of those immediately connected with it, such as leather dressers, &c. and

Whereas, there are many employers who allow (and are willing to accede to) the justice of our demands, provided they are assisted by a just public; therefore, in order to prevent the ruin and to keep one of the most extensive trades in our city, we do hereby

RESOLVE, that in the name of our society we will publish in newspapers of most circulation in this city, and the cities and towns of the Southern and Western States, the names of those employers who keep ware houses here and have work manufactured in the Eastern States.

RESOLVED, that we will publish in circulars and the newspapers of this city, the names and residences of those employers who do, and the names and residences of those who do not accede to the justice of our demands.

RESOLVED, that the preamble and resolutions herein contained, be signed by the President and Secretary of this society and published in at least four daily papers of this city.

JOHN CANEY, *President*
JNO. F. READ, *Secretary.*

(d) THE CORDWAINERS STAND BY THE TRADES' UNION

Pennsylvanian, March 4, 1836, p. 2, col. 7.
Resolutions passed at a special meeting of the United Beneficial Society of Journeymen Cordwainers, March 2, 1836.

We, the Journeymen Cordwainers of the Men's Branch, determined never to yield up the right we now possess, of placing upon our own time and labor such price as to us may seem just and equitable; and determined also to give all the aid in our power, through the Trades' Union, to the Journeymen Bookbinders, Cotton Spinners, &c., from whom this valuable right is attempted to be wrested by a combination of tyrannical employers and wealthy capitalists, do solemnly and firmly

RESOLVE, that we will stand to the Trades' Union as the last hope of the mechanic and laborer, knowing that if the aristocracy could sever the link which now binds us together, every trade society would be attacked, and would sink in its turn before the corrupting influence of wealth and avarice.

RESOLVED, that we earnestly conjure those members of the Trades' Union who are now the victims of unrighteous extortion, to stand firm in the holy cause of human rights, assuring them that their days of tribulation are nearly at an end, and that retributive justice shall surely visit their oppressors.

RESOLVED, that with a view to lend a helping hand in these days of trial, each member of this Society contribute immediately the sum of fifty cents (making nearly $400) and that a further contribution of 12½ cents per week, for four weeks, be collected from each member, and that after that time 12 cents per month for each member of this Society be paid to the Trades' Union, 10 cents of which to go into the regular funds of the

Union, and the remaining two cents to be applied to the Commissioners' Fund, as recommended by the National Trades' Union, for the purpose of establishing Trades' Unions and Trade Societies throughout this State – and each member shall be required to pay an additional 6¼ cents per month into the funds of this Society.

RESOLVED, that the Delegates to the Trades' Union constitute a Committee to superintend the disbursement of the funds hereby provided – to the end, that if the money be not required, the same may be safely returned to the Society, or any unappropriated portion thereof.

On motion, it was resolved, that four hundred dollars be appropriated from the funds of this Society, in anticipation of the collection from the members, to meet present emergencies – one half of which to be paid to the Trades' Union at its special meeting on Saturday evening next, and the balance to be disposed of according to the fourth resolution. . .

JAMES RYAN, President.

(e) THE EMPLOYERS OPPOSE THE UNION

Pennsylvanian, March 28, 1836, p. 2, col. 4.
Preamble and resolutions adopted at a meeting of "the employers on the Ladies Branch of Boot and Shoemaking business" on March 23, 1836.

Whereas, the Employers engaged in the Ladies' branch of Boot and Shoe business, in the city and county of Philadelphia have arrived at a crisis in which we deem it expedient to form ourselves into an Association, and make known to an impartial community our grievances and future determinations. As the time has arrived when it becomes necessary that we, as Employers, in our department of business, should with manly firmness and united exertions, call upon our fellow citizens, the Employers in the different Trades, for an expression

of sentiment in relation to the late measures of the Trades' Union, and of the several Trade Societies in relation thereto.

It is a lamentable fact that we no longer feel any confidence in carrying on our business, which arises from the frequent turn-outs of our Journeymen, for an advance of wages and other measures. This they do not hesitate to do, in rapid succession, regardless of the consequences which may follow to our business.

We acknowledge with much regret, that we are unable, under such a state of things, to determine upon any fixed price or value of our goods. Therefore we cannot take orders from our customers as heretofore, not knowing how soon we may be called upon to accede to a new list of wages, or other measures equally detrimental. These lists of prices are so arranged prospectively, as to keep up a fund not only for their own Society, but also that of the Trades' Union. The most ostensible object of both being to coerce Employers into their measure, and thus impose upon the community a burden for the purpose of enabling themselves to live upon a fund thus created during the several Turn-outs or Strikes. And we are moreover unwilling to submit to such a state of things, fostering oppression, tyranny and misrule, and thus obstructing the free course of trade. Heretofore we have not been masters of our business, but have been compelled to comply with the most arbitrary measures of the men in our employ, aided on and encouraged by the Trades' Union. The mode of doing business has been prescribed by them, and if objected to by the Employer his shop was struck against; and as a punishment for disobedience, no Journeyman permitted to work for him until he made acknowledgments to the Society, and complied with their requisitions.

It is also an article of their by-laws, that no Journey-

man is permitted to instruct an apprentice belonging to an Employer, until after he enters in the last six months of his time, under a penalty of twenty dollars. They not only require a sufficiency from their Employers to support themselves and the friends of their own society, but also to meet the demands made on them by other societies, during a turn out for wages. Therefore

1. RESOLVED, that the wages paid to the Journeymen previous to the present turn out, was a sufficient compensation for their labor, and as the present list of wages, adopted on the 21st inst., is an unjust demand – that the Employers will not accede to it under any considerations.

2. RESOLVED, that we are determined not to submit to the coercive measures adopted by the Journeymen, (and Binders) that while we are willing to pay a fair compensation for labor to both, we declare ourselves free and independent to act for ourselves.

3. RESOLVED, that in the present state of our business affairs, that we will act with unanimity and good faith towards each other.

4. RESOLVED, that we do not recognize the right of workmen to levy a list of wages upon us, ostensibly for the support of the Fund of the Trades Union, nor for the funds of any individual Trades Society.

5. RESOLVED, that we will no longer be made the submissive agents to carry out the purposes and designs of such regulations.

6. RESOLVED, that we will take all fair and lawful means to oppose the same.

7. RESOLVED, that the Journeymen's measures now in operation are most obnoxious, coercive and detrimental to the peace, prosperity, and best interests of the community.

8. RESOLVED, that we highly approve of the firm and decided stand taken by the master carpenters, and that Israel Robinson, John Follansbie, Nathan Kimball, Joseph Weeks and Joseph Chew, be a delegation to confer with them.

9. RESOLVED, that we cordially invite the employers on the men's branch, to form a Society forthwith, to unite with us in maintaining our rights as good and free citizens, and to oppose every injurious combination, connected with the Trades' Union.

10. RESOLVED, that we also invite the employers of both branches in New York, Newark, Baltimore, Burlington, and the neighboring towns and manufacturing districts, to call similar meetings, and to confer with and sustain us in our exertions for Liberty and the free course of trade.

11. RESOLVED, that we cordially invite the employers in the different branches of the mechanic arts to hold meetings expressive of their views in relation to the oppressive operations and proceedings of the Trades' Union, and such other matter as they shall deem expedient for their future welfare.

12. RESOLVED, that J. W. McCurdy, Nathan Kimball, and B. C. Duplane, be a committee to correspond with the employers in the city of New York, Baltimore, Newark, Burlington, and the neighboring towns and manufacturing districts.

13. RESOLVED, that we deem it expedient, in order to carry our object into effect, to call on the different societies of employers to appoint delegates to hold a general convention at such time and place as may be hereafter determined. [Eighty-two signatures omitted.]

(f) THE ADVANCE IN WAGES AND PRICES

Pennsylvanian, April 18, 1836, p. 2, col. 6, 7.
Preamble and resolutions adopted at a meeting of the journeymen cordwainers (ladies branch), April 13, 1836.

Whereas, it has come to our knowledge that the public mind has been abused to a dangerous extent, in regard to the amount of the advance of wages asked by our Society above that which we received previous to the present *turn out*, and also as to the average amount of money which a journeyman can weekly earn, we therefore deem it incumbent on us, in justice to the public, to lay before them a brief, but candid statement as to our demands of the employers; and also as to what we consider due to us from our employers, as fellow men.

We think that we are rendering justice to the public, as well as to ourselves, when we mention the fact, that whenever we have asked of our employers an advance of wages, they have universally demanded of the public an average advance of about three times as much as they have given to us: thus, at the strike of 1835, our average advance was about 5 cents; at which our employers made an average raise in the price of their shoes of 18¾ cents; and they have ever attempted to justify this extortion, by telling their customers that they were compelled to act thus, in consequence of the exorbitant demands of the journeymen. The employers, in the publication of their proceedings, have represented the advance we now ask as extravagant and unreasonable; in reply to that, we can positively assure the public, that the average advance we now ask, is but 5¼ cents on a pair: now, allowing a journeyman to make 12 pair of shoes per week, which are enough for any man to make, and which he will barely average, the advance we now

ask will make an increase in his week's wages of but little over 60 cents; and the most superficial observer will perceive that this increase in his weekly income can in no wise meet the enormous advance in the price of provision, house rent and other necessaries. We shall now speak of the average amount which a journeyman can weekly earn at the wages we are now asking, allowing him to work from 10 to 12 hours per day, the average wages per pair, taking all kinds of shoes collectively, would be 47 cents; now allowing a journeyman to make 12 pair of shoes per week, which is a liberal allowance, his weekly income would amount to only $5.64. We would ask any reasonable person if such a sum is enough to enable a man to meet all demands, and to afford him a comfortable subsistence?

We have frequently heard it remarked, by persons possessing more self interest than feeling, that a labouring man with a family can live comfortably on five dollars per week—we willingly admit that five dollars per week will furnish a small family with provisions, &c. but when the labourer goes to pay his house-rent, the tailor, and doctor's bill, he will find his treasury minus. Again, taking a journeyman's weekly wages to average the sum above stated ($5.64) his annual income will amount to the scanty portion $293.28. Now deducting 20 dollars which it must cost him for shoe-findings, tools and implements indispensable in the prosecution of his trade, deducting also what it will generally require for medical expenses, and the residue instead of being sufficient to procure for him and his family a moiety of life's necessaries and comforts, will render their circumstances as bare as the leafless trees of winter! It will be recollected that the employers in the publication of their proceedings, have accused us of

frequently demanding an advance of wages without giving them the slightest notice thereof; this assertion it will be remembered was thoroughly rebutted by us in a recent statement to the public. But even if the representations of the employers were true – on what just grounds can they complain when they invariably assume authority to reduce our wages without a moment's warning, and that too in the most severe and inclement seasons! Our oppressors may be elated with the vain hope that they can undermine us and bring us to submission by the introduction of French and eastern shoes and the circulation of misrepresentations. But, we are unanimously

RESOLVED, that we will never as heretofore remain the impoverished dupes of the importers of French shoes and the retailers of slander and *foul goods*.

RESOLVED, that we are determined to expose every fraud practised on the public by the artifices of the employers in their course of trade and speculation.

RESOLVED, that we will never put on our aprons or return to our vocation until we receive our just demands, being well assured of competent support from the labourers' inexhaustible and moral bank, the Trades' Union.

RESOLVED, that we tender our warmest thanks to our brothers of the "Men's Branch," for their noble and generous co-operation in our present stand out. . .

JOHN CANEY, Pres'nt – JNO. F. READ, Secretary.

4. THE TEN-HOUR STRIKES OF 1835

(a) INFLUENCE OF THE BOSTON CIRCULAR

The Man (New York), June 29, 1835, p. 1, col. 1, 2.
Letter from John Ferral, or Farrell, as the name was sometimes spelled, who was elected in the following October, president of the National Trades' Union, to Seth Luther of Boston.

Schuykill Falls, 6th mo. 22d., Ind. 49.

BROTHER – Circumstances which I could not command, have prevented me, until the present time, from answering yours of 11th inst., and even now, part of the information you desire must be deferred until a more fitting opportunity can be had by me of acquiring the knowledge you seek. You write that "the government of Philadelphia have placed themselves on an exalted eminence, by adopting the ten hour system," and that, "from the dates of events, I had the vanity to suppose, that our circular, which you were so kind as to have reprinted, was the more immediate cause of the recent movements in Philadelphia. There is not any vanity in the supposition. It is an incontrovertible truth, that the movements of the useful classes here, are mainly to be attributed, to the Circular. For some days previous to the receipt of that invaluable document, I had seen in the daily papers, advertisements for hands wanted in Boston, wages from $2 to $2.50 per day, hours of labor from sunrise to sunset. The specification of the time allotted for a day's work excited in me a suspicion of treachery. The memorable and infamous ukase of the merchants of Boston, July 20th, 1832, forcibly presented itself in all its deformity, and an intense anxiety respecting the workies of Boston, was the result.

Think what my feelings, then, were, when I received your Circular, when all my doubts, fears, and suspicions were confirmed, and the duplicity of all the party presses of Philadelphia thus made manifest. Still I hoped, that when the baseness of these minions of aristocracy, who were and are incessantly prosing about "democracy," "whiggery," "party usages," "party principles," etc., would now be shown, in their suppression of the circumstances of the strike in Boston, and their treacherous insertion of the advertisements to mislead the mechanics of Philadelphia; that it must pluck the veil from off the eyes of the industrious portion of community, and give them a full view of the tricks of these traders in politics, I have not been deceived. From that until the present time, the workies have nobly done their duty by keeping aloof from party trickery, and maintaining their own principles with a firmness of purpose that indicates their intention of thinking and acting for themselves hereafter. Upon the receipt of your Circular, I called upon Wm. English, Secretary of the N.T. Union, and took counsel with him how to proceed. A reprint was decided upon as the best antidote for the poison already infused by the daily presses, and in less than twenty-four hours the dissemination of the reprint commenced, and was continued for several days: up to the tops of the highest houses and into the cellars thereof it speeded its way. The effect was electric; the Circular became the absorbing topic of conversation. Fortunately, at this crisis, the Cordwainers of the Ladies' Branch struck for wages; the Handloom Weavers had already declared their intentions, and the Laborers on the wharves of Schuylkill, were out on strike several days previous. The Cordwainers, with that sympathy of feeling, which per-

vades all intelligent working men, marched out to meet the laborers. Addresses were then delivered, calling upon all day workmen to strike for the hours; and nobly the call was responded to. Bricklayers, plasterers, house carpenters, stone masons, laborers, &c., vied with each other in this generous rivalry of action; one motive seemed to pervade the mass; they had read and imbibed a portion of the pure spirit of the Boston Circular, and resolving to abide the issue of the trial, they re-echoed the appeal where it says, "We claim by the blood of our fathers, shed on the battle fields in the war of the revolution, the rights of American freemen, and no earthly power shall resist our claims with impunity," and they adopted its injunction to the mechanics of Boston, "stand firm, be true to yourselves. Now is the time to enroll your names on the scroll of history, as the undaunted enemies of oppression, as the enemies of mental, moral, and physical degradation, as the friends of the human race." The mechanics of Philadelphia stood firm and true; they conquered, because they were united and resolute in their actions. Those presses which could not retard the progress of public opinion, nor divert it from its just objects, viz. the adoption of the ten hour system for a day, and a correspondent advance of wages for piece workers, now proclaim the triumph of our bloodless revolution; each day adds to our number and strength to our cause, and adds also to the moral as well as physical power of the Trades' Union.

The recognition and adoption of the ten hour system by the public servants of Philadelphia city and county, could not with safety have been longer deferred; each day added thousands to our ranks. We marched to the public works, and the workmen joined in with us;

when the procession passed, employment ceased, business was at a stand still, shirt sleeves were rolled up, aprons on, working tools in hand were the orders of the day. Had the cannon of an invading enemy belched forth its challenge on our soil, the freemen of Philadelphia could not have shown a greater ardor for the contest; the blood-sucking aristocracy, they alone stood aghast; terror stricken, they thought the day of retribution was come, but no vengeance was sought or inflicted by the people for the wrongs they had suffered from their enemies. The harmonious and almost simultaneous action of the great body of the useful classes in this great and glorious cause, produced an effect on public opinion, which removed every obstruction presented in the outset by the foes of human happiness; and the public authorities, with that tact which evinces knowledge of the human heart, chimed in with the popular feeling; they displayed on this occasion a discriminating judgment of the time when to comply, the manner and matter of which places them in the estimation of the working men, not as the foes of human rights, but as the friends of good order and public justice. The office holders and office seekers of all parties have tried to lure us into the meshes of their nets, but experience came to our aid, and, coy as the young deer, we shied off from their advances; we felt grateful for their proffered aid, but told them "we knew our own rights, and knowing, dared maintain them." The battle was already ours; ere they came forth, we had fought and conquered, without other aid than the justice of our cause; our weapons were reason and truth, which sooner or later must triumph wherever they are wielded. By the papers I send, you will see how steadily we proceed onward. Our brave seamen, too, have done

their duty, as they always did before. The female laborers are about forming societies to protect themselves from the rude grasp of avarice; even the oppressed females, and children employed in cotton mills in Manayunk, (those brutalizing emporiums of human misery,) have caught the spark of freedom's fire, and are now on strike for the hours. "Your glorious work goes nobly on." The voice from Julien Hall has not passed us by unheeded. The Trades' Union have resolved to celebrate our nation's anniversary; an oration will be delivered by a hard-handed mechanic, that we may keep clear of party and profession. Then, when our hearts beat high in remembrance of the deeds of other men and other times, when we feel that we too have participated in causing a moral revolution, which, if carried out, must be productive of happiness to the whole of the community; then will our voices be heard in grateful praise of our brethren in Boston; then will our heartfelt thanks be poured forth to A. Wood, Seth Luther, and Levi Abell, for the Circular of the house carpenters, masons, and stone cutters of Boston, that life inspiring composition, which called forth the energies of the working men of Philadelphia, and knit them together in brotherly feelings, by which they attained their just object. That this spirit of union may spread abroad, and speed over the whole earth, until all men join in the promotion and attainment of happiness, is the wish and hope of your brother working man.

JOHN FERRAL.

(b) A MEETING OF CITIZENS

Pennsylvanian, June 9, 1835, p. 2, col. 6.

Of the persons whose names appear in connection with this meeting six were merchants, five lawyers, four doctors, two politicians, at least one an employer, and three wage earners. The occupations of six are not known.

One of the largest meetings ever convened in the city or county of Philadelphia, assembled on Saturday afternoon, the 6th inst., in the State House Yard.

The meeting was organized by appointing General Peter Fritz, *President*; Dr. L. D. Bodder, Israel Young, William Ruff, Thomas Weaver, George Smith, Peter Wager, Michael W. Ash, Benjamin S. Bonsall, John F. Stump, Dr. Heintzelman, Dr. Spackman, John Struthers, John Dennis, William Stevens, John P. Binns, William English and Benj. B. Boyce, *Vice Presidents*; and the following gentlemen as *Secretaries*: Wm. Vogdes, Chas. K. Servoss, Vincent L. Bradford, Jos. Gatchel, Jr., John D. Miles, Byerly G. Cox, Dr. Bunting, Chas. D. Lybrand and Dr. A. C. Draper.

The object of the meeting having been stated from the Chair, it was, upon motion of Mr. Gatchell, resolved, that a committee of five be appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the sense of the meeting. Whereupon the following gentlemen were selected as the committee: Dr. A. C. Draper, George Smith, Wm. English, Saml. Dubois and John D. Miles. After having retired for some time, the committee, through their chairman, reported the following, which were adopted by enthusiastic acclamation.

Whereas, the citizens of the city and county of Philadelphia, have assembled in town meeting, to express their opinion of the recent movements of the workingmen and mechanics; and whereas, this meeting is satisfied that the working classes are the bone and sinew

of the land; and whereas, upon their health, virtue and happiness depend the security and perpetuity of our glorious and free institutions, and whereas, it is the duty of every man possessing the ordinary attribute of humanity, to zealously assist in advancing the social comforts and increasing the moral, physical and intellectual enjoyments of man; and whereas under the former system adopted by employers, it has been found that the demands made upon the system of the employed, is incompatible with either physical comfort, moral improvement or social happiness; and whereas we are satisfied that ten hours labor out of the twenty-four, is as much as the system can endure, and at the same time preserve health, and whereas the ten hour system will afford some leisure for the cultivation of the mind, and the pleasures of domestic relationship.

Therefore be it resolved, that we heartily and unanimously respond to the demands of the laboring classes in favor of ten hours. Resolved, that ten hours labor is amply sufficient for any reasonable purpose, and that all those who require more time from the laboring man, are devoid of the noble principles of humanity, and the mild and charitable virtues of Christianity.

And whereas, it has been represented that those tradesmen, who have been ground down to a paltry pittance for their labor, and who are now soliciting an increase of wages, whereby they may be enabled to pay their rents, clothe and feed their families, and educate their children.

Therefore resolved, that we highly approve of the proceedings of the journeymen tradesmen, in various branches, who demand a fair and equitable compensation for their labor.

And whereas in the female branches of sewing, mak-

ing clothes, &c., there is much privation, want and suffering, in consequence of the lowness of the prices which they receive for their daily toil, therefore resolved, that we highly disapprove of the speculation which is carried on upon their virtuous and honest labor. Resolved, that the ladies of Philadelphia be recommended to adopt such measures as may secure to their sisters in humanity, a fair compensation for their industry. Resolved, that we recommend to the journeymen mechanics, to religiously abstain from engaging to labor by the hour, or continuing their labor under any circumstances, beyond the term of ten hours out of the twenty-four.

The following resolutions, offered by Mr. J. Ferral, were also adopted: resolved, that this meeting fully approve of the conduct of the laborers on the Schuylkill coal wharves, and recommend them to persevere in their just efforts until they attain the object of their strike. Resolved, that the humane conduct of Jacob Serrill, coal merchant, Spruce st. wharf, in acceding to the just demands of the laborers in his employment, entitles him to the patronage of all good citizens. Resolved, that we hereby recommend to the citizens of Philadelphia not to purchase coal of any merchant who coerces his laborers to work more than ten hours a day.

The meeting was addressed by the following gentlemen: William Thompson, John Farrell, Samuel F. Reed, Mr. Martin, William English, Wm. Ruff, and several others. . .

(c) A HOSTILE ACCOUNT OF THE RESULTS

Boston *Courier*, Sept. 27, 1836. Quoted from the Philadelphia *Gazette*.

The New-York *Journal of Commerce* intimates that the "ten hour system" is beginning to find favor in that city with the mechanics; and notices the fact with some judicious observations. It may, perhaps be serviceable to the *Journal*, to know that the system has worked in Philadelphia, where it has been in operation for about a year; and as we have been at the pains of seeking information on this subject from some employing mechanics, and others whose pursuits enable them to see its operation, we will state the result of some recent inquiries.

Formerly, the building mechanics were in the habit of working from sunrise to sunset, as all our farmers and agricultural laborers do, embracing in the long days of the year, from twelve to thirteen hours, the average of which was twelve. The argument they used in favor of the ten hour system was, that two hours additional labor in the day, would give them so much vigor and activity, that they would be able to do in ten hours as much work as they used to do in twelve; so that the employers and the public would be no losers by the change. This was the theory, and now for the practice under it. We have been assured by master-builders, that so far from a journeyman's now doing in ten hours what he before used to do in twelve, he does not even do as much as he used to do in nine. This falling off is ascribed to the idle and careless habits acquired by some from sitting up late at night in dissipation, and lying in bed late in consequence thereof, and to the natural indisposition of the rest to work harder than their neighbors. The result of this falling off, has been, that the cost of building, (owing to wages for nine hours'

work being kept up at the same price that used to be paid for twelve,) has been greatly augmented, insomuch that not more than two thirds as many houses have been built, as would have been built under the old system. Rents have consequently been very much increased, to the great benefit of landlords, and injury of tenants, and the community considered as one large family, have been positively losers to the whole amount of the value of the labor which was prevented from being put into activity, by the ten hour system!

Such has been the effect upon the public; but have the mechanics themselves gained by the change? So far from it, they have been great losers. The adoption of the ten hour system with the builders, which was in fact only another mode of turning out for higher wages, led to a general turn out among most other classes of working-men, the result of which was a general increase of wages. The consequence of this has been, a rise in the price of every article necessary for the comfort of families. Rents have risen, coal and wood have risen; so have hats, shoes, clothes, furniture, utensils, and every species of city labor dependent for its support upon the the general expenses of living. But this is not the worst of it. Provisions of almost every kind, meats, poultry, and vegetables, are from twenty-five to fifty per cent higher than they were a year ago; and although this rise in prices, may, in part, be ascribed to other causes, yet it is clear to all who know how to reason from cause to effect, that a considerable portion of it is the result of the high prices of the things, which farmers buy in the city, and which act upon agriculture and increase the expenses of producing grain, stock, and vegetables. To meet these increased expenses, brought on by their own acts, the working-men have no new resources.

The ten hour men, who had no increase of wages, have plenty of leisure on hand to dispose of, but it is not a saleable commodity. The rest who turned out for, and obtained a rise of wages of twenty to twenty-five per cent, have found that this increase of income is more than swept away by the rise in rent, fuel, and subsistence; and if there be taken into the account, the number of days' work which some of them lose from the want of employment, it will be found that they are losers in two ways, while they are gainers in but one.

At the period of the turn outs, this *Gazette* was foremost in its warnings against the extension of the system. We foresaw the results then as plainly as we see them now; and had we been prophets, we could not have predicted them more exactly than they have come to pass. So great however, is the blindness of many on this subject, that the present hardness of the times will be ascribed to any but the true causes; and we should not be surprised if fresh movements should be resorted to in the way of turn-outs, to restore the equilibrium, in which event the condition of all classes, except owners of houses, would be rendered worse.

5. THE HOUSE CARPENTERS' STRIKE, 1836

(a) THE MASTER CARPENTERS ATTACK THE TRADES' UNION

Pennsylvanian, March 17, 1836, p. 2, col. 5, 6.
Preamble and resolutions adopted at a meeting of master carpenters, March 14, 1836. The journeymen had met the preceding November and resolved to demand $1.50 per day from March 20 to November 20, and $1.25 per day for the remainder of the year. This meeting is reported in the *Pennsylvanian*, March 21, 1836.

Whereas it is the mutual interest of the employer and the employed, that good feeling, friendship and confidence should exist between them, and whereas a combination of Journeymen Mechanics has been formed, under the name of the Trades' Union, arbitrary in its measures, mischievous in its effects, subversive of the confidence and good feeling that formerly existed, and equally calculated to destroy the independence of both the master workmen and journeymen in their contracts and private relations, we, the Master Carpenters, of the City and County of Philadelphia, in self defence, deem it expedient to make known the grievances we labor under, and to take such measures as may, in some degree, remedy the evil. Under the existing state of things, no master workman can make a contract with any safety or security, that he will be able to fulfill his engagements, while his operations are under the control of a combination of men, who at a moment's notice may alter the established wages, the hours for working, and even prescribe to him what hands he shall employ, and he must accede to the most arbitrary measures, at the risk of his work standing still.

The Trades' Union is composed of Journeymen in

every branch of Mechanics. Each member contributes weekly or monthly a portion of his earnings, to carry into effect the objects of the Institution. Some branches of Mechanics have some supposed grievances to complain of, and in secret conclave it is settled how and when it shall be remedied. The time selected is when their employers have large contracts on hand; a demand is made and if not promptly acceded to, no matter how unreasonable, the malcontents strike, throw down their tools, and quit their work, thus subjecting their employers to a breach of their contract and loss of time. Should the master workmen resist being coerced into the measure, and the Journeymen in that branch are thrown out of employ, they are supported from the Funds of the Society until the difficulty be reconciled.

It should be remembered and remarked that two branches seldom strike at the same time, by which course of policy the general fund is not too heavily taxed, and the other branches having employment can contribute to it. The evil does not rest here, in order to ensure the growth and continuance of the combination, it is arrogantly required, that no master workman shall employ any Journeyman who is not a member of the Trades Union, and if he has the hardihood to disregard this arbitrary requisition, they leave their work at a moment's notice, in defiance of the consequences; they also exact that he shall not have more than one apprentice to a stipulated number of journeymen, thus in a most daring and unwarrantable manner presuming to regulate and controul the private concerns of private citizens.

When the Strike was made last year for the Ten Hour System, it was understood they would ask no more, provided their employers acceded to the measure, and that

they would perform as much work as they did before, but so far from fulfilling their promises, they performed more in eight hours when they worked all day, than they did in their ten hours under the ten hour system.

This object was no sooner gained, than an Increase of wages was threatened and partially demanded, which, with the ten hour system, will make a difference of at least twenty per cent to their employers.

Combinations of this description are indebted for their origin to the discontented and disorganizers in a monarchical government; they are not of American birth; they are arbitrary and oppressive in their operations, subversive of all regularity in business, and destructive of confidence in the parties concerned; it is the mother of countless evils, and the source of no good. They have been discountenanced in Europe, their birth place; but how they have ventured to raise their heads to breathe and exist in a republican atmosphere, is indeed wonderful.

Such being the evils imposed upon us, we, the Master Carpenters of the city and county of Philadelphia, find ourselves compelled in self-defence to form an Association for the purpose of putting down the combination called the Trades Union, and cordially invite the other branches to assist in the undertaking. Therefore,

RESOLVED, that the Trades' Union is arbitrary, unjust and mischievous in its operation, inasmuch as it forcibly compels the well disposed journeymen to become members, as there is a By Law of this Association prohibiting all members from working at the same building or in the same shop with any journeyman who is not a member, thus compelling him to join the Association and contribute weekly his earnings for the support of the idle and discontented, or he will be thrown

out of work himself as his employer will be compelled to discharge him, fearing that all his other hands will strike.

RESOLVED, that we view the Trades' Union as a powerful engine of the levelling system; its operation is calculated to reduce the employer to the condition of a journeyman, and to keep the well disposed and industrious journeyman a journeyman all the days of his life, as he is restricted from doing over work, even though he is so disposed.

RESOLVED, that the Trades Union is calculated to weaken and destroy the harmony and ties of mutual interest that formerly existed between the master and apprentices; the boys have their minds poisoned by the members of the association, until they no longer consult their masters' interest, and finally look upon him as a hard task master and oppressor, instead of a friend and protector.

RESOLVED, that the Trades' Union is the growth of Monarchial Government, and ill adapted to our Republican Institutions.

RESOLVED, that we claim the right as Free Citizens, to make our contracts with the journeymen mechanics themselves, without the intervention of the Trades' Union; and that we do not recognize the right of any association or combination of men, to interfere in the ordinary transaction of our business.

RESOLVED, that we are willing, owing to the advanced price of living, to increase the wages to good workmen, provided they furnish themselves with tools, as is the custom of other cities, and that we deem it inexpedient to name any sum, preferring that every man be at liberty to make his own bargains, and be master of his own shop or building.

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RESOLVED, that the Master Mechanics of the city and county of Philadelphia, be invited to attend a meeting, for the purpose of forming an association to be called the Anti-trades' Union Association, the object will be to protect us from the mischievous effects arising from that combination.

RESOLVED, that a committee of seven persons be appointed to carry into effect the last resolution.

The Chairman appointed the following persons as the committee on the last resolution, Samuel Copeland, D. Henry Flickwir, Thos. S. Stewart, Daniel R. Knight, Jonathan Johnson, Jesse Williamson, Jr. and George Dilks. On motion, resolved, the officers of the meeting be added to the committee.

On motion, resolved, that the names of all the employers present be taken down, when the following named persons gave in their names as Master Carpenters. [One hundred, thirty-four names omitted.]

On motion, resolved, the proceedings of this meeting be published, signed by the officers. On motion adjourned. JAMES LESLIE, President.
JOHN NORTHROP, JR., JOHN LONGSTRETH, Vice Pres'ts.
JOHN LINDSAY, WM. C. HANCOCK, Secretaries.

(b) THE JOURNEYMEN STATE THEIR CASE

Pennsylvanian, March 21, 1836, p. 2, col. 7.
Preamble and resolutions adopted at a meeting of journeymen house carpenters, March 18, 1836.

Whereas, at a meeting of the employing carpenters of the city and county of Philadelphia, held pursuant to public notice, at the Carpenters' old Hall, on Monday, March 14th, 1836, have in their published proceedings made charges against the Trades' Union and this Association, accompanied with threats to put down

all combinations that may be formed by mechanics, for the promotion and protection of their own interests, which charges, unsupported as they are by any evidence of their truth, are as malicious as their threats against the Trades' Union are vain and ridiculous. The constitution of our country secures to all its citizens the right to associate for the promotion of their own interests. All the various professions and callings, that compose society, have always exercised and enjoyed this right unmolested. Such a course of proceedings on the part of the employing carpenters is ill calculated to produce that mutual good feeling, which they say is so essential to our mutual interests. The employers say some branches of mechanics have some supposed grievances to complain of. A plain statement of facts will, we think, convince the public that our grievances are real. The average wages of our trade have been, before the strike of the ten hour system, one dollar and twenty five cents per day, from the first of April to the first of November, and one dollar and twelve and a half cents for the remaining part of the year. Not more than one half of the journeymen have employment more than nine months in the year, we are very much exposed to the heat of the summer sun while roofing or framing, and in the winter time to work in cold bleak shops or in open buildings without fire, or are compelled to lose time. The cost of journeymen's tools is from ten to an hundred dollars, which they are obliged to carry very often on their backs like pack horses, from shop to shop, and from building to building, and which they are liable to have stolen from them or destroyed by fire. Many employers have been in the habit of employing hands only during the long days of summer,

discharging them as soon as the days become short; an unjust, but almost general custom has long since been established in the city of withholding one third of our wages, paying us only five dollars per week for months and sometimes years, without allowing us any interest for what is withheld, by which means we are often compelled to take orders in payment. A member of the committee that drafted resolutions for the meeting of the employers, has been known to purchase fifty dollars worth of hats at a discount of thirty per cent, and palm them on his journeymen in payment for their labor. Many of us would prefer working piece-work if we could know the price that would be put on our work; but we cannot know it in consequence of the employers' book of prices being secret; that it is unjust, numbers of us have learned to our cost: nor are we the only ones that have paid dearly for learning the fact. We have the evidence of citizens that have had work done for them, valued by the book in question, that it is unjust. A book of prices that is secret cannot be impartial or just. These are some of the grievances of which we have to complain. Our country and city are in a very flourishing condition; the increase in the price of living every body knows is great; we have in consequence asked an increase of 25 cents on last years' wages, to take place on the 20th of March, and have given our employers three months' notice of our intention, for this just and reasonable request, we are indebted for the base and malicious charges and threats, against the Trades' Union and this Association. Therefore

RESOLVED, that the resolutions of the employers have more than ever convinced us of the danger we would be exposed to without our union.

RESOLVED, that we earnestly recommend to the jour-

neymen in every branch of business, that have not yet become members of the Trades' Union, to organize speedily for that purpose, and thus participate in a right, guaranteed by the constitution of the United States to all citizens of this Republic. . .

6. CO-OPERATION

(a) PROGRESS AND WARNING

National Laborer, Nov. 26, 1836, p. 143, col. 1.

The work of Co-operation goes bravely on, and we are pleased to notice the movements of the Trade Societies. The present moment is auspicious to the Workingmen, and their whole hearts should be engaged in the cause in order to have Co-operative Trade Associations established simultaneously by the various branches of the Union.

In another column will be found a communication addressed particularly to the Hatters, which we recommend to the perusal of the members of that trade. The Society, we understand, has appointed a committee to report a plan for commencing business, and in a very short time we may expect the Hatters of this city will be their own masters.

The Tailors' Society has also appointed a committee for the same purpose, and we know no body of workingmen who could commence the system with greater certainty of success.

The Saddlers and Harness Makers have outstripped all others. They have already appropriated their fund for the purpose of Co-operation, besides having an institution in progress which is rapidly increasing its capital, and will doubtless be an able and useful auxiliary to the Society.

Several other Societies, we learn, are agitating the subject, but we regret our inability to give their names.

The Handloom Weavers, No. 1, have two Co-opera-

tive Manufactories in successful operation. The Cordwainers of the Ladies' Branch have discovered the error in their joint stock store, and have resolved to reorganise it on a different plan, and instead of a stock company, to make it a Co-operative Union.

We will now make a few remarks to the members of the Union, which we hope will receive their serious consideration. You are about taking a vast and important step, and caution, vigilance, and patience are necessary to the attainment of your object. If you neglect the general Union, or suffer its protecting power to diminish, you are lost. You can look nowhere for aid in case of embarrassment, but to your fellow-laborers, and they may be likewise in want. But rally all round the Union—increase its fund—strive to keep within its guardian arm every Society and every member, and in your hour of need or trouble, there it will stand, firm as a rock, a guide to your path, and a watch-tower to light you onward to success and prosperity.

Do not be too sanguine, or rather be not too impatient. Think not that a day will bring forth all the blessings of Co-operation. Your progress must necessarily be slow, but it will nevertheless be sure. The foundation must be laid before the building can be erected—your capital must be collected, and in your circumstances you must be satisfied with small beginnings. Small weekly contributions are all that can be expected from a great majority of the working people, and all that should be required. While therefore the capital is gradually accumulating, plans might be suggested and discussed, respecting the best mode of conducting the business, and a plain and perfect system could be discovered by the time the capital was large enough to commence operations.

We will repeat here a previous recommendation. Let every Trade Society in Philadelphia adopt a resolution requiring of its members a weekly or monthly contribution to enable them to enter into business for themselves, and at the same time continue their dues to the Union, to be applied to the same end. This proposition is simple and plain, but there are many who object to its adoption – there are many good men in every Society, who, though they acknowledge the benefits of Co-operation, deem it impracticable, and therefore oppose it – and there are many who reject it without giving any reasons for their course. But these things should not deter its friends from their duty, but should rather inspire them with renewed vigor and industry in propagating the scheme. All these obstacles may be surmounted – and ought to be removed. We grant that it is essential that harmony and unanimity in the Societies, and in the Union, should remain undisturbed, and that nothing should be rashly adopted which might cause dissatisfaction or dissension among the members. But you need fear nothing on this point – you may proceed in such a manner as to satisfy all. Many ways might be pointed out, and we will give one: let a proviso be attached to the resolution that any member who disapproves of the measure at the expiration of one year, may be repaid the full amount of his dues; this would be a surety to all that they would lose nothing – the money would be safe in the care of the responsible agents of the Society, and any who might be disposed to withdraw their money, would even find themselves gainers in having a sum saved for them which might otherwise have been spent to less profit. Where, then, let us ask, is the man, and what is he, who would refuse to make an experiment which costs him nothing, and

which offers bright hopes of intellectual and pecuniary advancement to him and the whole body of productive laborers. Let them try it, therefore, for one year, and if they do, we may safely prophesy that few Trades' Unionists would avail themselves of the opportunity to remain journeymen, when they saw their brethren about to raise themselves from penury and degradation, to prosperity and independence. Again, the objectors should be appealed to, not to deter their fellow-members from embarking in an enterprise which gives certain promise of a golden harvest – they should be told to look among the workingmen, and see whether the present plan of reform has been productive of good – they should be entreated by their wishes for the welfare of their children, to let the good cause proceed, and to wait patiently for the fulfilment. Little exertion will be required during the first year; the dues will flow in slowly and surely; and Co-operation will grow in strength and in extent, all its branches spread from one extremity of the Union to the other.

Again we repeat our caution to you, workingmen, to preserve and cherish the Trades' Union. Be not too precipitate in your movements, lest your plans prove abortive. Come to a perfect understanding with your friends in various trades. Give freely to each other your views on the subject. Agitate the question in all places, that every side may be exhibited, and a perfect system adopted.

A method of eliciting information has occurred to us, which we feel it our duty to propose, and we sincerely hope that every Society will immediately adopt it. Let each Trade Society choose a committee from its members, to be composed of those who are in favor, and those who are opposed to Co-operation, if there

be any opponents. Let these committees be directed to meet at a place and time agreed upon, for the purpose of holding a general conference on the subject – a conversation meeting, where the question may be calmly and deliberately discussed, and where the reasons for and against may be given dispassionately. Much good would undoubtedly result from such a meeting, and we might confidently hope that all who are yet in doubt and darkness respecting the utility of Co-operation, would be convinced and converted. It is important that such a meeting be held at this time, especially for the reason that several Societies have commenced the work, and should seek diligently for the best possible plan. Many Societies are also waiting anxiously to ascertain the best manner of starting, and will begin as soon as they can see the way clear. We shall look with much interest and hope for the proposed conference.

(b) TRADES' UNION CONFERENCE

National Laborer, Feb. 11, 1837, p. 187, col. 2. Editorial.
In March twenty-one trades were represented at an adjourned meeting of this conference.

CO-OPERATION. On Monday evening last, the delegates from nearly all the Societies composing the Trades' Union assembled at Military Hall, for the purpose of holding a conference on the subject of Co-operation. We judged there were nearly two hundred persons present, and it was truly a cheering scene. So large a gathering for such a purpose, proclaims more clearly than words can express, the mighty advance which the workingmen have made towards their own elevation, and gives glorious promise of a final triumph over the powers that oppress them. The question was debated with much zeal and judgment; all acknowledged its utility, but its practicability was doubted by a few. All,

however, attended, not determined to carry out their peculiar views, but to give the subject a fair, impartial, and full investigation, and it is impossible that good can fail to spring from such a course.

In speaking of this conference, and the object sought by it, we will be allowed to remark that the workingmen are in the right path, and the only path which leads to the temple of freedom and prosperity. If they hold and travel together they will reach it in safety, but they must go united. Singly they cannot overcome the thousands of obstacles which are before them, but if they move forward in union, confiding in each other, these obstacles will all be surmounted – they will vanish like the darkness at the approach of morning.

We charge the workingmen not to raise the first stumbling-block themselves, by declaring Co-operation to be impracticable. Look around you, and see the host of institutions which are reaping the profits of your labor – examine the principle of their organization – what is it? Co-operation from first to last. Do their members talk of impracticability? No. And yet how much more formidable were the obstacles they had to surmount, than those you complain of. They are based on capital – unreal and unsubstantial wealth, while your associations will be based on labor – useful and valuable. It is but for you to resolve and it is done – Banks would shut up their doors were it not for your industry; and if you must have Banks and paper money, establish them for yourselves. It was thought impracticable to form a union of the Trades, and yet we see that it has been done. It would have been laughed at if it had been proposed to that Union to raise $12,000 in six months, and yet we see that it was done. It never would have been voted to raise that sum, for to almost all it would have

seemed "impracticable" – and members were astonished that such a sum had been raised. Few could have been persuaded that a society of poor journeymen Cabinet Makers would, in a short time, possess the most extensive warehouse, and the most prosperous establishment in this city, and yet we need not tell you it is the fact. It was declared impracticable that Hand-loom Weavers, who toiled twelve or fifteen hours a day to earn five or seven dollars a week, could go into Co-operation, and yet with a few months' perseverance we find them possessed of means for the establishment of two manufactories, which are now in successful and profitable operation. These facts place the practicability of Co-operation beyond dispute, and show that in great undertakings "the attempt and not the deed confounds us." If then we see Co-operation effected in a single trade society, how much more practicable must it appear when nurtured by union, and when a general fund is available to all.

In commencing this glorious work, however, the workingmen need not retrace a single step – all the preparations are made – money alone is required, and a resolution to raise it. Nearly all the workingmen are joined in societies, and those societies are formed into a union. What then remains? Simply for the members of each society to resolve to pay into their own fund a certain weekly sum – let the dues to the Union be continued, and reserved exclusively for the purpose of loaning to Trade Societies entering into Co-operation; let the amount loaned by the Union be equal to such sum as the Society applying may have raised from its own members. This would excite a laudable energy in each Society to accumulate as much as possible by its own exertions, knowing that the loan will be equal to its

own fund. In a short time these loans could be repaid, and the fund of the Union applied to establish schools for the education of members' children or apprentices, for the opening of grocery or provision stores, where members could purchase at cost, and for providing wood and coal to supply them throughout the year at cost. If the members were disposed, nothing would be easier than for the Union to issue notes based on its capital, and benefit in a thousand ways their members – but all these will develop themselves in the progress of the work, and in their proper time.

Workingmen – look at these things and know your power. Here learn the true and certain plan for thrusting back into their contemptible insignificance those who despise your honorable occupations. Join all of you in carrying on this great work, and by this method teach the stupid oppressor and the aspiring aristocrat that they must seek their level among their offspring – the vagrant and the rogue. Persevere in Co-operation, and you will not "long endure the vulgar dominion of ignorance and profligacy." Persevere in Co-operation, and the "avenging hour will at last come" – "the banditti will be scourged back to their caverns," and the high reaching aristocracy who insult you and trample on your rights, will be prostrated forever. Persevere in Co-operation, and "the penitentiary will soon reclaim its fugitives in office, while the only remembrance which history will preserve of them, is the energy with which you resisted and defeated them."

7. THE WORKING MEN'S CONVENTION, 1838-1839

(a) CALL FOR THE CONVENTION

Public Ledger, Nov. 24, 1838, p. 2, col. 4.

At a meeting of Delegates from the Cordwainers, Coachmakers, Tailors, Framework Knitters, Oak Coopers, Brushmakers, Carpenters, Silver Platers, and Cedar Coopers' Societies, it was resolved to hold a general Convention of the various Trade Societies of the city and county of Philadelphia, on Monday Evening, the 7th January, 1839, at the Exchange Hotel, Bank street, to consult upon such measures as will promote their welfare and prosperity.

All Trade Societies are earnestly requested to attend to the above call, and such branches of mechanism as are not organized are requested to hold meetings and elect Delegates. Number of Delegates not limited.

The committee of arrangements will sit at the Mechanics' Library, Fifth street, below Arch, every Thursday evening, from 7 to 8 o'clock, where any information in reference to the Convention can be obtained, and where Societies are requested to report as soon as they elect delegates. n24 3t

(b) PROCEEDINGS

Public Ledger, Jan. 26, 1839, p. 2, col. 3.

A number of other meetings were held, but their proceedings were not published. The address mentioned in the last minutes published has not been found.

[January 22] . . . Credentials from the Oak Coopers' Society, were read and accepted.

E. A. Penniman submitted a letter from Frederick J. Remington, of Albany, which was read, and on motion of Thomas C. Steele, ordered to be entered in full upon the minutes.

Israel Young, from the Committee appointed to inquire upon what terms the proceedings of the Convention could be published – reported that two daily papers would publish them without charge; when on motion of Wm. Gilmore the report was accepted, and the thanks of the Convention returned for their liberal offer.

The Convention then on motion of Mr. Lasselle, resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, for the purpose of resuming the consideration of "The formation of Trade Associations for the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the Mechanics." Mr. Gilmore in the Chair – when after an interesting debate in which Messrs. Bruff, Young, Penniman, Mansure, Steele, Keeler, McClure, Jackson, Samuel Sayre and Samuel C. Thompson took part, the Committee rose, reported progress, and the Convention adjourned to meet again on Tuesday evening, the 29th inst.

W. G.

Public Ledger, Feb. 2, 1839, p. 2, col. 5.

[January 29] . . . On motion of William Gilmore, John S. Vandyke, Marble Laborer, was admitted to a seat in the Convention.

J. S. Fletcher submitted the following resolution, which was adopted: resolved, that the Committee on Business be instructed to report a plan of union of the different trades that are closely connected, so that the different branches of mechanism may be more permanently united. . .

[The Committee of the Whole then resumed the consideration of the trade society question.]

Public Ledger, Feb. 7, 1839, p. 2, col. 1.

[February 5] . . . A credential from the Brush Makers' Society, returning J. Conrad as a delegate, was read and accepted.

Henry Beeny submitted the following resolutions and laid them on the table until the next meeting: resolved, that we recommend to the Societies represented in this Convention, the election of delegates to the Trades' Union, previous to the semi-annual meeting in March. Resolved, that this Convention recommend to the various Trade Societies, the formation of Unions in their respective branches of business throughout the United States, as far as practicable.

[The Committee of the Whole then resumed the consideration of the trade society question.]

Public Ledger, Feb. 11, 1839, p. 2, col. 4.

[February 7] . . . Israel Young, from the Committee appointed to classify the different trades, submitted a report, which, on motion, was accepted.

On motion of Mr. Yearsly, it was resolved, that the Convention hold two meetings each week, in order to facilitate the business of which it was organized.

Mr. Cany presented a letter from John Wilbank, which was read and ordered to be filed with the proceedings of the Convention.

Mr. Yearsly submitted the following resolution, which was laid on the table until the next meeting: resolved, that a Committee be appointed to address the Mechanics and Workingmen of the city and county of Philadelphia, on the importance of forming Associations for pecuniary benefits and the improvement of the mind, as recommended by the Convention.

The Convention then, on motion of Mr. Gilmore, resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole upon the formation of a Literary and Scientific Institute—Mr. McClure in the Chair—when, after considerable debate, in which Messrs. Mansure, Pierce, Bruff, Steele, Frescoln, Fletcher, Brelshford and Penniman took part, the Committee rose, and the Convention adjourned to meet again on Thursday evening, the 14th inst.—W. G.

Public Ledger, Feb. 18, 1839, p. 2, col. 4.

[February 14] . . . The resolution of Mr. Yearsly, offered at the previous meeting, calling for the appointment of a committee to draft an address to the Mechanics of the City and County, was taken up and adopted; whereupon the following named persons were appointed said committee: E. A. Penniman, S. C. Thompson, William Gilmore, E. Dallas, Thomas O'Neill, George Clark, J. Botsford, Samuel Sayres, Thomas Steele, J. J. Pierce and John Wright. . .

[The Committee of the Whole then resumed the consideration of the question of forming a Literary and Scientific Institute.]

Public Ledger, Feb. 26, 1839, p. 2, col 1.

[February 22] . . . E. A. Penniman offered the following resolution, which was adopted: resolved, that this Convention adjourn *sine die* on Tuesday evening, 26th inst.

The resolution offered at a previous meeting, by Henry Beemy, recommending the formation of Associations throughout the United States, was called up and adopted.

The report of the Committee of the Whole was then taken up, and the recommendations contained therein, after having been amended as follows, were unanimously adopted: resolved, that this Convention recommend

the formation of trade societies and associations in every branch of mechanism, and that the societies now in existence take immediate and active measures to carry out fully the objects of their organization. Resolved, that we recommend the formation of united trade societies and associations, and that a committee of two from each trade be appointed to take measures to organize the same. Resolved, that we recommend the formation of a literary and scientific institute for the diffusion of useful knowledge; that the institute be immediately established by adopting the "Mechanics' Library," incorporated in 1829; and that the workingmen use all exertions to increase the usefulness and value of said institution. Resolved, that we recommend the erection of a Mechanics' Hall, with Reading, Library, Debating and Lecture Rooms, and that the Mechanics Library Company take measures, as soon as practicable, to erect said Hall.

Robert Mansuel offered the following resolution, which was adopted: resolved, that the committee appointed to draft an address, be requested to report on Tuesday, at 7 o'clock precisely. And then the Convention adjourned.

VII

OTHER CITY CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS

INTRODUCTION

During this period central labor organizations, or trades' unions, were formed in at least eleven cities besides New York and Philadelphia. These were Boston, Baltimore, Washington, Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Newark, New Brunswick, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville. Trades' Unions doubtless existed in a number of other cities, as, for example, in Richmond, Va.

The most important of these was the Boston Trades' Union, which was formed in March, 1834. Two big ten-hour strikes had occurred in Boston, one of the house-carpenters in 1825, and one of the ship-carpenters in 1832; and both had been defeated, not by the master carpenters, but by the employers of the masters, the capitalists, and merchants. Soon after the formation of the Boston Trades' Union the house carpenters, masons and stone-cutters of that city again went on strike for a ten-hour day and issued a circular stating their grievances. The Boston mechanics also sent a delegation, including Seth Luther, to New York and Philadelphia, to solicit aid from those cities, and later published a pamphlet called the "Proceedings of the Government and Citizens of Philadelphia on the Reduction of the Hours of Labor and Increase of Wages." Nevertheless, only the plasterers appear to have won their strike,[1] and it is probable that the Boston Trades'

[1] *Radical Reformer and Working Man's Advocate*, Aug. 8, 1835.

Union was unable to prolong its somewhat feeble existence for any great length of time. The admission of employers and the tendency to branch into politics doubtless contributed to its decay.

The Baltimore Trades' Union was formed even earlier that that of Philadelphia. It originated in a lockout declared by the employing hatters in order to reduce wages and was immediately followed by a ten-hour movement participated in by some seventeen trades. The different trades of the city met together in July, 1833, to protest against the hatters' lockout (which was evidently successfully resisted by the journeymen), in August to consider the ten-hour system, and in September to form a Union Trade Society.[2] A year later the name of this organization appears to have been changed to the "Trades' Union." In 1835 fifteen trade associations were represented, and the union was apparently in flourishing condition in 1836.

The trades' union of the District of Columbia was formed in the summer of 1833, the carpenters taking the lead. It was not, however, until after the issuing of an address to the working men of the District in December, 1835, that the union became a prominent factor in the industrial life of Washington.

In Albany, on the other hand, the initiative was taken by the saddlers and harness-makers, and a union was formed which for some time included delegates from Troy and Schenectady. Later, however, separate unions were formed in both of these cities. In December, 1836, there were thirteen societies represented in the Albany Trades' Union.

[2] There was also a political movement among the mechanics of Baltimore during the fall of 1833, but the party was split in two by internal discord, the majority of the mechanics apparently being anti-Jackson (*Baltimore Republican*, Sept. 9, 12, 20, 25, Oct. 7, 1833).

An active trades' union had been formed in Newark, N.J., before January, 1835; and one was organized in New Brunswick, N.J., in June, 1835. In the latter place the cordwainers took the initiative. In 1836 trades' unions were also formed in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville, which then represented the Far West. Seven societies were represented in the Louisville Trades' Union in June, 1836, and others, it was said, were preparing to join.

1. BOSTON

(a) HOUSE-CARPENTERS' STRIKE OF 1825

(1) Resolutions of Master Carpenters, from the *Columbian Centinel*, April 20, 1825, p. 3, col. 1.

Resolutions passed at a meeting of a large number of master carpenters on April 15, 1825.

RESOLVED, that we learn with surprize and regret, that a large number of those who are employed as Journeymen in this city, have entered into a combination for the purpose of altering the time of commencing and terminating their daily labor, from that which has been customary from time immemorial, thereby lessening the amount of labor each day in a very considerable degree.

RESOLVED, that we consider such a combination as unworthy of that useful and industrious class of the community who are engaged in it; that it is fraught with numerous and pernicious evils, not only as respects their employers, but the public at large, and especially themselves; for all Journeymen of good character and of skill, may expect very soon to become masters, and like us the employers of others; and by the measure which they are now inclined to adopt, they will entail upon themselves the inconvenience to which they seem desirous that we should now be exposed!

RESOLVED, that we consider the measure proposed, as calculated to exert a very unhappy influence on our apprentices – by seducing them from that course of industry and economy of time, to which we are anxious to enure them. That it will expose the Journeymen themselves to many temptations and improvident practices

from which they are happily secure, while they attend to that wise and salutary maxim of Mechanics, "Mind Your Business." That we consider idleness as the most deadly bane to usefulness and honorable living; and knowing, (such is human nature,) that where there is no necessity, there is no exertion, we fear and dread the consequences of such a measure upon the morals and well being of society.

RESOLVED, that we cannot believe this project to have originated with any of the faithful and industrious Sons of New England, but are compelled to consider it an evil of foreign growth, and one which we hope and trust will not take root in the favored soil of Massachusetts. And especially, that our city, the early rising and industry of whose inhabitants are universally proverbial, may not be infested with the unnatural production.

RESOLVED, that if such a measure were ever to be proper and necessary, the time has not yet arrived when it is so; if it would ever be just, it cannot be at a time like the present, when, builders have generally made their engagements and contracts for the season, having predicated their estimates and prices upon the original state of things in reference to Journeymen. And we appeal therefor to the good sense, the honesty and justice of all who are engaged in this combination, and ask them to review their doings, contemplate their consequences, and then act as becomes men of sober sense, and of prudence.

RESOLVED, finally, that we will make no alteration in the manner of employing Journeymen, as respects the time of commencing and leaving work, and that we will employ no man who persists in adhering to the project of which we complain. COMMITTEE.

[Twenty-four names omitted.]

(2) Notice to House Carpenters in the Country, from the *Columbian Centinel*, April 23, 1825, p. 1, col. 1.

NOTICE to House Carpenters and Housewrights in the country. An advertisement having appeared in the papers of this city, giving information that there is at this time a great demand for workmen in this branch of mechanical business in this city, it is considered a duty to state for the benefit of our brethren of the trade, that we are not aware of any considerable demand for labor in this business, as there is, at this time, a very considerable number of Journeymen Carpenters who are out of employ, and the probable inducement which led to the communication referred to, arises from a disposition manifested on the part of the Builders in this city to make their own terms as to the price of labor, and the number of hours labor which shall hereafter constitute a day's work. It being a well known fact that the most unreasonable requirements have been hitherto exacted with regard to the terms of labor of Journeymen Mechanics in this city; and it is further well known that in the cities of New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and most of the other cities a much more liberal and equitable course of policy has been adopted by the Master Builders, on this subject, giving to their Journeymen that fair and liberal support to which they are unquestionably entitled. It is an undoubted fact that, on the present system, it is impossible for a Journeyman Housewright and House Carpenter to maintain a family at the present time, with the wages which are now usually given to the Journeymen House Carpenters in this city.

April 16 2sp

(3) Resolutions of "Capitalists."

Columbian Centinel, April 23, 1825, p. 2, col. 3. Resolutions passed at a meeting of "gentlemen engaged in building the present season," on April 21, 1825.

RESOLVED, that we view with regret the late proceedings of a portion of the Journeymen Carpenters of this city, terminating in a combination to curtail the usual number of working hours.

RESOLVED, that these proceedings are a departure from the salutary and steady usages which have prevailed in this city, and all New England, from time immemorial, by an adherence to which, Apprentices and Journeymen, accustomed to industrious and temperate habits, have, in their turn, become thriving and respectable Masters, and the great body of our Mechanics have been enabled to acquire property and respectability, with a just weight and influence in society; that if this confederacy should be countenanced by the community, it must, of consequence, extend to and embrace all the Working Classes in every department in Town and Country, thereby effecting a most injurious change in all the modes of business, and in the operations of agriculture and commerce, opening a wide door for idleness and vice, and finally commuting the present condition of the Mechanical Classes, made happy and prosperous by frugal, orderly, temperate and ancient habits, for that degraded state, by which in other countries, many of these classes are obliged to leave their homes, bringing with them their feelings and habits, and a spirit of discontent and insubordination to which our native Mechanics have hitherto been strangers.

RESOLVED, that while it is admitted every man is free to make such contract in respect to time and wages as he may think for his interest, it is also considered that all combinations by any Classes of Citizens, intended

to regulate or effect the value of labor by abridging its duration, are in a high degree unjust and injurious to all other classes, inasmuch as they give an artificial and unnatural turn to business, and tend to convert all its branches into Monopolies. If the Journeymen Carpenters, by an example which other trades shall follow, effect an unnatural rise in the price of labor, their employers, who vend salt, sugar, and other necessaries, must indemnify themselves by similar combinations, or suspend their employment.

RESOLVED, that we do highly approve of the firmness, temperance and intelligence manifested by the Master Carpenters in their proceedings, and indulge a strong hope that they will produce a due effect upon the well-disposed among the Journeymen, and that those, upon reflection, will be satisfied that a perseverance in their present course, will, in the end, produce a reaction ruinous only to themselves.

RESOLVED, that it is expedient for those concerned in building the present season, to support the Master Carpenters, on the ground by them taken, at whatever sacrifice or inconvenience, and to this end extend the time for the fulfilment of their contracts, and even to suspend, if necessary, building altogether, and that we can foresee no loss or inconvenience arising from such suspensions, equal to what must result from permitting such combinations to be effectual.

RESOLVED, that we cordially and sincerely invite and entreat the Journeymen to retrace their steps and return to their business, and to realize by their industry and perseverance in the good old way, the fair advantages, which are now promised by full employment and good wages to all who will embrace them, and we cannot doubt, that all who think themselves worthy of becom-

ing Masters, will perceive their true interest in conforming to this advice. But if contrary to expectation they should persevere in the present determination, we hereby agree and pledge ourselves to each other, not to employ any such Journeymen, or any other Master Carpenter who shall yield to their pretensions.

VOTED, that the resolutions now adopted be published in the papers of this city, and that Messrs. John Bellows, Josiah Marshall, John D. Williams, Samuel Perkins, and Amos Lawrence be a Committee to present them to the Building Committee of Faneuil Hall Market for their concurrence, and to deposit the same in convenient public places for the signatures of such citzens as may approve them, and that fifty copies be printed for this purpose.

H. G. OTIS, Chairman – W. H. ELIOT, Secretary.

(b) SHIP-CARPENTERS' STRIKE OF 1832

(1) Meeting of Merchants and Ship-owners, from the *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot*, May 19, 1832, p. 1, col. 4.

Preamble and resolutions passed at a meeting of the merchants and ship-owners of Boston on May 15, 1832.

Inasmuch as it is the opinion of the undersigned that labour ought always to be left free to regulate itself, and that neither the employer nor the employed should have the power to control the other; and that all combinations to regulate the price and the hours of labour, nor to restrain individual freedom and enterprise, are at all times attended with pernicious consequences, and especially so to the individuals whose interests they are intended to promote; and inasmuch as we believe the price of mechanical skill and labour in Boston has been and now is as high, if not higher, than in any city in the world, and that no unreasonable service is expected or required; therefore it is

RESOLVED, that we view with deep regret the course which some of our fellow citizens, journeymen ship carpenters, caulkers, and others, are pursuing, in the adoption and maintenance of a system of measures designed to coerce individuals of their craft, and to prescribe the time and manner of that labour for which they are liberally paid.

RESOLVED, that, in our opinion, the tendency of this combination of the ship carpenters, caulkers, and others, instead of benefitting them, has a direct tendency either to put their business into other hands, or seriously to injure it in this place, by inducing ship owners to repair their vessels elsewhere, rather than to submit to the inconvenience, delays, and vexations to which they would be exposed, where they can obtain labour only at such times and on such conditions as the folly and caprice of a few journeymen mechanics may dictate, who are now idle two or three of the most valuable hours in the day.

RESOLVED, that we will so far discountenance all associations and combinations for the purposes before stated, that we will neither employ any journeyman who, at the time, belong to such combination, nor will we give work to any master mechanic who shall employ them while they continue thus pledged to each other, and refuse to work during the hours that it has been and is now customary for other mechanics to work in this city.

RESOLVED, that these measures be carried into effect from and after Tuesday next, the twenty-second instant.

[One hundred, six signatures omitted.]

(2) Statement of the Journeymen, from the *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot.* May 23, 1832, p. 1, col. 6.

To the Merchants of the City of Boston. We presume it is well known to most of you, that a Society has been formed, by the Shipwrights and Caulkers of this city and Charlestown, for their mutual benefit, and to regulate the days' work and the number of hours to constitute them. Meetings were published in three several papers of this city, and our employers were especially invited to attend. We wished to see them with us, to consult with us for the common good. At the first meeting they did not attend. Again they were invited, and the result was the same. We individually requested them to attend, but with no more success. We stated to a number of them our grievances, and the number of days we were obliged to labour without pay, and we considered it as a heavy tax upon us, and that we ought not to submit to such regulations as they thought fit to impose upon us. We will now state some of them for your consideration, viz: if a vessel has to be transported from a part of the city to another, we were compelled to assist in so doing, and, perhaps, (as the wind and weather might be) we would be often detained two or more days, and perhaps then we should not have more than three days work upon her, thereby labouring four days for two days' pay. This, we think, you will all allow, needs correction. Again, we were formerly required to be down in the morning by sun rise, and labour until sun set, in the longest days, allowing hardly time to get our meals; and if any one of us should happen to be tardy, the finger of scorn was pointed at him, or our employer would say, where have you been, or if you do not come sooner I'll not employ you any more. And we unanimously came to this conclusion—we would sink or swim. If our employers had

used us like men, and not been so overbearing, we should not have spent so much time in having our grievances redressed. We were all born free and equal, and we do not ask to have our grievances redressed as a favor, but we demand it as a right. We have come to this conclusion as it respects the number of hours we ought to labour. We think ten hours per day is as much as ought to be done, considering our business is the hardest and most trying to the constitution of any other. We do not upon an average make more than one dollar per day. We cannot work when other mechanics can. It is well known by most of you that in wet weather we cannot work, or in very cold weather. One third part of the time is a loss to us. It has been stated at the Merchants' meeting that our men are paid liberally; but what does it amount to when we lose so much time. There is but very few of us than can, at the end of the year, make both ends meet. We undertake to say men can be obtained in this city of our branch of business at any time, (we mean those who have served a regular apprenticeship) to do as much work in ten hours as if they were required to work fifteen. And we are willing to submit this part of the case to our employers, or to you, or both. Again, it sometimes happens to rain in the morning when we have been at work two hours; our employers say we cannot pay you for that—and at other times it happens when we begin at twelve o'clock and it begins to storm at two, we must break off work, and if you charge those hours, they will say to you, "we never pay for hours." We make our appeal to you as honest and good men. Again, we have been required to shore up vessels after they are on the railway, and place blocks likewise; and often times it takes half a day, when we might have worked at other places. We

have formed ourselves into a Society, and adopted the ten hour system. If it be just, why not grant it—we all have families, and we want a small part of the time for ourselves. And we now say we are willing to work by night or day upon any vessel for the merchant, or our employers, and that we have done it and are still willing to do it, by being paid extra.

A meeting was held on Saturday evening, at 7 o'clock, at Fulton House. It was called to order by the President, Mr. Samuel Brintnall, and after stating the object of it, a motion was made to choose a committee of three to prepare a statement of facts, and pass some resolutions, which motion was unanimously agreed to. That committee retired, and through their Chairman, reported as follows:

RESOLVED, that we are willing to labour by night or day, either on the railway or in the dock, to facilitate the business of the merchant, or our employer; the merchant or our employer agreeing to pay for each and every hour over and above ten, an extra compensation in proportion to our day's work.

RESOLVED, that we think it an unreasonable representation to make towards the Society of which we are members, to state in public print, that we are vexatious, and that we refuse to work any more than ten hours per day. We are willing to receive any communication, or meet any committee in a fair and honorable way.

RESOLVED, that from and after the 20th of March, until the first of September, we will not labour more than ten hours per day, unless being paid extra for each and every hour, and that we are willing, if requested, to begin at half past four in the morning, and labour not exceeding ten hours; or we will work later in the evening,

if requested, not exceeding ten, by being paid therefor. By order of the President.

ALEXANDER BLACK, Sec'y.

N.B. A Committee has been appointed to give any information that is required, consisting of the following gentlemen: Samuel Brintnall, Richard Hosea, Benj. Bowen, Daniel Ballard, Jr., John Wilson.

(3) Position of the Master Ship-carpenters, from the *Independent-Chronicle and Boston Patriot*, May 30, 1832, p. 3, col. 3.

The account of this meeting was accompanied by an advertisement for forty ship-carpenters and caulkers, who should not be "pledged to any combination respecting hours," and who were offered wages of $2.00 per day.

At a meeting of the Master Ship Carpenters and Caulkers on the 25th of May current, after a decided expression of their disapprobation of the course of conduct pursued by the journeymen of their craft, they unanimously determined to discourage such combinations of their journeymen, as alike dangerous to the peace and good order of the community, and at variance with their own best interest. They then signed the following agreement:

"We, the undersigned, Master Carpenters and Caulkers, do agree to abide by and to support the resolutions of the Merchants of Boston in regard to the employment of journeymen who belong to any combination with respect to the time or price of labor." [Sixteen signatures omitted.]

NOTE. The above list includes all the Master Carpenters and Caulkers of Boston and Charlestown with the exception of Mr. Edm'd Dolbeare – and of Mr. Daniel Ballard, who was present at the meeting and assented to this agreement, and said it should be equally binding on him in all respects, as on those who have signed; but for particular reasons declined signing it.

(c) TRADES' UNION OF BOSTON AND VICINITY

(1) Call for a Convention, from *The Man*, Feb. 20, 1834, p. 1, col. 1, 2.

Circular to the Mechanics of the City of Boston and Vicinity.

FELLOW CITIZENS: At a meeting of the working men of this city, holden at the Old Common Council Room, Court-Square, School-street, January 21, 1834, the subject of Trades' Unions came before the meeting. After many interesting remarks, a Committee was appointed to take such measures as they should deem expedient to effect the formation of a General Trades' Union of the mechanics of this city and vicinity. The Committee thus appointed assembled at Bascom's Hotel, School-street, on the evening of January 28th ult. They took the subject into deep and serious consideration, which resulted in a vote to issue a Circular to the Mechanics of Boston and vicinity, in order to lay before them the nature and design of the proposed Union of the Trades. The several trades were generally represented in the committee.

Judging by past experience, and close observation of causes and effects, which act in reducing the Working Class in all countries, to a situation far from enviable, your Committee deem it of the very highest moment, that something should be done to improve the condition of the mechanics of our city and vicinity, which will prevent the fatal results which have followed the adoption of a cruel and heartless policy towards the Mechanics of Europe.

The same policy now in successful operation in the United States will produce the same effects here, as in older countries, as sure as effect follows cause, unless we do something to prevent such causes from acting on

our interests and prosperity. It is unnecessary for us to repeat in your ears a truth so well known and so deeply felt by you, that mechanics in no part of the world stand in a situation equal to that which their usefulness demands.

Without entering into a tedious detail of the many disadvantages under which the mechanics of this city and vicinity labor, in common with their brethren in the various parts of this great Republic, we wish to represent to you, that the formation of General Trades' Unions have been attended with the most beneficial and happy results, on the interests of employers and employed. The cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, have adopted this method of concentrated action much to the satisfaction of all concerned. Since the formation of Trades' Unions in those cities, we hear nothing of difficulties and dissentions between employers and employed, which in all cases produce dissatisfaction, discontent and distress; but employers and employed seem to be harmoniously united for the mutual benefit of both, which ought always to be the case.

If there are a few in those cities more avaricious than others, who wish to oppress their fellow men to aggrandize themselves, the good sense and humanity of the greater number of honest employers forbid the attempt, which, if made under the present circumstances growing out of Trades' Unions would inevitably result in total failure.

The mode of forming a General Trades' Union is as follows: Let each branch of mechanics assemble together; let each of these primary assemblies choose two delegates to represent them in a General Trades' Convention of the Trades in Boston and vicinity, to meet and adopt a Constitution for the General Government

of the Union; after which the different societies will form a Constitution and By-Laws, in accordance with the Constitution of the General Union. The Convention to meet once in three months, and special intermediate meetings to be called by the proper officers of the Union. It is contemplated that each member of the several societies belonging to the Union will pay into the general fund, such sum as may be deemed necessary by the Union in Convention assembled, and at such times as the delegates shall determine. The fund thus raised, to be devoted to the relief and assistance of those out of employ by accidents, or by any other cause, which will justify the Convention to render such relief; and when the members requiring such assistance are acting in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and in accordance with a vote or resolution of the Union, in Convention assembled, as the case may be.

It would be impossible to give a detail of all the advantages of such a Union of the Trades, but one advantage will be apparent to you all at first sight. Such a Union will produce a friction of mind, and no doubt that sparks of intellectual fire will be thus elicited, which will electrify, enlighten, and warm the whole body.

In pursuance of these views, which must necessarily be brief in this Circular, the Committee recommend that the gentlemen of the different trades in Boston and vicinity would call a meeting of each trade separately, and choose two delegates to attend a General Convention to be holden in this city, at the Old Common Council Room, Court-Square, School-street, on the first Thursday in March next, at 7 o'clock in the evening, to carry into effect such measures as they may deem expedient, relative to the important object for which they

shall assemble. The Committee earnestly recommend that the Mechanics of the towns in the vicinity of Boston would send delegates to the proposed Convention, furnished with the proper credentials. Where there are only a few of any particular trade, two or more trades can unite and send delegates from the body thus organized. Those trades which have societies already formed, are requested to take measures to be represented in the Convention. All of which is respectfully submitted by the COMMITTEE.

Boston, Feb. 11, 1834.

(2) Formation of the Union, from *The Man*, March 12, 1834, p. 3, col. 1.

Proceedings of a General Convention of the Trades of Boston, March 6, 1834.

. . . The meeting was called to order by Charles Douglas, (Editor of the *New England Artisan*,) and was regularly organized by appointing James Sharp, *Chairman*, and Dunbar B. Harris and Seth Luther, *Secretaries*.

On motion, it was voted that a Committee of three be appointed to receive and examine the credentials of the Delegates. Messrs. Meserve, Osgood, and Monroe were appointed on that Committee. The following gentlemen were reported to be legally entitled to seats in the Convention, viz.:

Curriers – Alpha Richardson, William Burrage; Cabinet and Piano Forte Makers – Enoch Haskell, Edwin Brown, James Sharp; Tailors – William Dugan, James Osgood; Masons – Dunbar B. Harris, Smith Nichols; Coopers – James D. Morgan, Isaac Gannett; Ship Wrights – David Armstrong, John Holt, Josiah Hiler, Josephus Freeman; Rope Makers – William D. Butts, John Currier; Painters – H. Burbeck, William Holmes; Iron Founders – William R. Hudson, Charles

Turner; Printers – Andrew Wright, William H. Brewster; House Carpenters – Seth Luther, John B. Meserve; Sail Makers – Samuel Prince, David Pratt; Machinists – Prescott Rice, E. Packard; Black and White Smiths – A. Foss, Seth Chadbourn. Delegates from Charlestown – Benjamin Bowen, James Deblois, James Bridge, Charles Pool, Frederic Solis, Lenthel Phillips, Abijah Munroe, William Beckford. Delegates from the Lynn Female Society – Wm. Phillips, Israel Buffum.

The following resolution was read and unanimously adopted. Resolved, that Charles Douglas be requested to take a seat in the Convention, and be entitled to all the privileges of a regular member of the same. It was voted that Mr. Douglas read the Constitution of the New York Trades' Union; which was accordingly complied with.

It was voted, that a committee of five be appointed to retire and draft a Constitution for the government of the Trades' Union, and present the same for the consideration of this Convention. The following gentlemen were appointed on this committee, viz. Messrs. Harris, Luther, Munroe, Richardson, and Wright. On motion it was voted that Charles Douglas be added to this committee. The committee having retired, returned, and reported to the Convention that it was impracticable, for want of time, to prepare a Constitution to present to the Convention at this meeting; but the committee would ask leave to report at an adjourned meeting. Whereupon, it was voted, that when this Convention adjourn, it adjourn to next Tuesday evening, to meet at this place.

The Convention was addressed by Messrs. Douglas and Luther.

Mr. P. Rice offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted: resolved, that the *New England Artisan*, published in Boston, faithfully advocates the Working Men's measures, and that in the opinion of this Convention it is worthy of the patronage of every Working Man throughout the city and throughout the country. Resolved, that every Delegate present, give the *Artisan* his support and patronage. Resolved, that there be a committee to procure subscribers to the *Artisan*, and that all the members of this Convention be that committee. . .

(3) Attitude towards Employers, from *The Man*, May 30, 1834, p. 1, col. 1.

The policy of admitting employers here justified, may have been in part responsible for the lack of success of the Boston union as compared with the unions in New York and Philadelphia, where employers were excluded.

To the Members of the New York Trades' Union.

If it is indispensable that the Trades' Union should be composed wholly of journeymen mechanics, or wholly of their employers, no man would hesitate to say that it should consist of journeymen alone. But since the interest of all who obtain their living by honest labor is substantially the same, since the boss is often brought back to journeywork by hard luck, and the journeyman may expect in his turn to become an employer, while both of them are invariably imposed upon and treated as if belonging to an inferior grade of society by those who live without labor, it surely seems quite desirable that in a union of trades for the common benefit, both journeyman and employer should come together.

There are in truth but two parties in our country that can be said to have distinct interests. The people are amused by names. Even the thirty-nine Lawyers who

make the Senate of the United States so illustrious, pretend to a division of interests, and have whiled away the people's time, and patience, and money, in a six months' war of words. But we all know those men can have but one common interest, which consists in gulling people, and living in idleness upon the fruits of our labor. Mechanics, farmers, artisans, and all who labor, whether as boss or journeyman, have a common interest in sustaining each other – the rich men, the professional men, and all who now live, or who intend hereafter to live without useful labor, depending on the sweat of their neighbor's brow for support, have also a common interest. And their interest is promoted by working us hard, and working us cheap. They understand this matter much better than we do, for they associate, they form combinations. The Lawyers and Judges lay their heads together, and impose upon us just what laws they please, interpret them as they please, and execute them as they please, whilst we tamely submit to grind out the task they assign us with the same patience, and the same spirit and intelligence, too, as a horse in a bark mill. The doctors associate, the elders form consociations, the merchants combine, all the rich, all the idle, and all that hope one day to become so at the expense of those who labor, form associations to favor that purpose; and where no positive agreement is entered into, a common interest draws them together. . .

The Boston Trades' Union is now increasing in numbers, and in consequence. It is composed of the employers and the employed. In the delegation from the same trade, you find the journeyman and his employer colleagues in the Convention, both feeling that in the great interest of redeeming the character and the condition of labor, it is their duty to unite and co-operate.

That our brother mechanics of the city of New York may consider it expedient to follow the same example, so far as the inclinations of the employers will permit, is the hearty wish of their sincere friend,

A BOSTON MECHANIC.

(4) Ten-hour Circular, from *The Man*, May 13, 1835, p. 2, col. 4; p. 4, col. 1, 2. Also in *National Trades' Union*, May 16, 1835, p. 2, col. 1.

This was the circular which was republished in Philadelphia and inspired there the general strike for ten hours.

At a very large and respectable Meeting of House Carpenters, Masons and Stone Cutters, assembled in Julien Hall, Boston, May 4, 1835, to consider the subject of the hours of labor in order that Ten Hours should at all times constitute a day's work, the Undersigned were appointed a Committee to address a Circular to our brethren in all branches of Mechanical labor in the City, the Commonwealth and elsewhere, to inform them of the state of things in this City, relative to the subject under consideration. In performing the duties assigned to them, the Committee, by the authority in them vested for that purpose, and in the name of the Carpenters, Masons, and Stone Cutters, do respectfully represent–

That we are now engaged in a cause, which is not only of vital importance to ourselves, our families, and our children, but is equally interesting and equally important to every Mechanic in the United States and the whole world. We are contending for the recognition of the Natural Right to dispose of our own time in such quantities as we deem and believe to be most conducive to our own happiness, and the welfare of all those engaged in Manual Labor.

The work in which we are now engaged is neither more nor less than a contest between Money and Labor:

Capital, which can only be made productive by labor, is endeavoring to crush labor the only source of all wealth.

We have been too long subjected to the odious, cruel, unjust, and tyrannical system which compels the operative Mechanic to exhaust his physical and mental powers by excessive toil, until he has no desire but to eat and sleep, and in many cases he has no power to do either from extreme debility.

We contend that no man or body of men, have a right to require of us that we should toil as we have hitherto done under the old system of labor.

We go further. No man or body of men who require such excessive labor can be friends to the country or the Rights of Man. We also say, that we have rights, and we have duties to perform as American Citizens and members of society, which forbid us to dispose of more than Ten Hours for a day's work.

We cannot, we will not, longer be mere slaves to inhuman, insatiable and unpitying avarice. We have taken a firm and decided stand, to obtain the acknowledgment of those rights to enable us to perform those duties to God, our Country and ourselves.

Our opponents have no arguments to adduce against our determination. We have invited them to the contest in a fair and honorable manner, but they have declined. They have used trickery, obloquy and abuse instead of reasoning. We warn all brother Mechanics, especially Carpenters, Masons and Stone Cutters, to beware of advertisements for hands. Be assured in all cases from this time, now, henceforth and forever, that whenever a Carpenter, Mason or Stone Cutter, advertises for a large number of hands as wanted in Boston or any

other city or town, that it is a mere trick, to deceive and oppress you. They never guarantee to you one single day's work, and you will, as in all similar cases, get only your labor for your pains. There are men enough now in this city who are skillful, able, and willing to work on an equitable and just method, and the advertisements for hands are only traps to "Catch Gulls." In no instance, in no part of the United States have such calls for hands been designed for any other purpose, than the most unjustifiable and wicked deception.

Beware also of the offers of high wages. We have not asked for an increase of wages, but are willing that demand and supply should govern the price as it does that of all other disposable property. To induce you to assist them to form shackles and fetters for your own limbs and your own minds, they offer you an increase of wages. Will you be deceived by this old and shallow artifice? We believe you will not—we know you will not.

When you understand that we are contending for your rights, for the rights of your families and your children as well as our own, we feel full confidence that you will make no movement to retard the accomplishment of the glorious and holy enterprise, both yours and ours. It is for the rights of humanity we contend. Our cause is the cause of philanthropy. Our opposers resort to the most degrading obloquy to injure us. Not degrading to us, but to the authors of such unmerited opprobrium which they attempt to cast upon us. They tell us "We shall spend all our hours of leisure in Drunkenness and Debauchery if the hours of labor are reduced."

We hurl from us the base, ungenerous, ungrateful, detestable, cruel, malicious slander, with scorn and indignation.

We assert and challenge the world to controvert the position that excessive labor has been the immediate cause of more intemperance than all other causes combined. Physical exhaustion craves and will have excitement of some kind, and the cause of Temperance never will prevail until slavery among Mechanics shall cease from the land.

We are friends to temperance "in all things," but any man who requires of us excessive labor is intemperate; if he is not actuated by ardent spirits, he is controlled by a spirit of inhumanity equally fatal to human happiness.

It is not a long period since some of our opposers made it a rule to furnish a half pint of ardent spirits to each man, every day, for no other purpose than to urge the physical powers to excessive exertion; thank God, those days have passed away, but they will ever remain a foul blot on the pages of History. Now we are told that excessive labor is the only security against intemperance.

To show the utter fallacy of their idiotic reasoning, if reasoning it may be called, we have only to say, they employ us about eight months in the year during the longest and the hottest days, and in short days, hundreds of us remain idle for want of work, for three or four months, when our expenses must of course be the heaviest during winter. When the long days again appear, our guardians set us to work as they say, "to keep us from getting drunk." No fear has ever been expressed by these benevolent employers respecting our morals while we are idle in short days, through their avarice. We would not be too severe on our employers, they are slaves to the Capitalists, as we are to them. "The power behind" their "throne is greater than the

throne itself." But we cannot bear to be the servant of servants and slaves to oppression, let the source be where it may. We will be so no longer, for it is rank injustice. Further, they threaten to starve us into submission to their will. Starve us to prevent us from getting drunk! Wonderful Wisdom! Refined Benevolence! Exalted Philanthropy!

The property holders in this city are dependent night and day upon the Mechanics, to man their Fire Engines; good policy might seem to dictate to them the expediency of providing a new set of firemen, before they starve the present ones or drive them to the extremity of leaving their Engine Houses desolate unto them. We are willing to bear our portion of the burthens, and perform our part of the services of social life, if we can be treated as men and not as beasts of burthen. We claim by the blood of our fathers, shed on our battle-fields in the War of the Revolution, the rights of American Freemen, and no earthly power shall resist our righteous claims with impunity. When we hear men, not only Employers, but "highminded" and honorable Merchants and Capitalists, as they are called, who are not only dependent on us for the protection of their property, but for a safe night's rest. When we hear such men say that we shall all become drunkards, and they intend to starve us into submission to their high will, we pity their infatuation and have painful apprehensions for the safety of the social Fabric. But the public mind is with us. The glorious work goes nobly on. Many employers have acceded to our reasonable demands, and in a few days we sincerely hope and believe that the victory over old prejudices and antiquated customs will be triumphantly complete.

Mechanics of Boston – stand firm – Be true to your-

selves. Now is the time to enroll your names on the scroll of history as the undaunted enemies of oppression, as the enemies of mental, moral and physical degradation, as the friends of the human race.

The God of the Universe has given us time, health and strength. We utterly deny the right of any man to dictate to us how much of it we shall sell. Brethren in the City, Towns and Country, our cause is yours, the cause of Liberty, the cause of God. Respectfully yours, A. H. WOOD, SETH LUTHER, LEVI ABELL – Committee.

Editors of newspapers in the United States who are in favor of equal rights, are respectfully requested to publish this Circular. THE COMMITTEE.
Boston, May 8, 1835.

2. BALTIMORE

(a) THE HATTERS' LOCKOUT

(1) Meeting of Mechanics to Support the Hatters, from the Baltimore *Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, July 27, 1833, p. 2, col. 5. Preamble and resolutions adopted at a meeting of mechanics "of all denominations" on July 24, 1833. Later a meeting was held "of the citizens generally," at which similar resolutions were passed and it was further resolved to boycott the employers who insisted upon the reduction. (See Baltimore *Republican*, July 29, 1833).

Whereas, we view with surprise and indignation the late coercive measures of certain Master Hatters of this city, to reduce the prices of the Journeymen 25 per cent as being replete with evil and injustice, and subversive of the dearest principles for which our forefathers bled; and that no better proof can be adduced of their fallacy than the fact that a number of those who conduct the same branch of business, less extensive, have resisted the measures, and still continue to give the usual prices. Therefore,

RESOLVED, that we highly approve the "Appeal" of the Journeymen Hatters, to their fellow citizens; and that this meeting earnestly desire them to "stick" in true faith to the noble resolutions they have adopted.

RESOLVED, that we look upon the highly creditable proceedings of the Printers, Taylors, &c. relative to this subject, as so many links of a chain to perpetual Union.

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this meeting the following named Master Hatters – Messrs. J. W. Niles, G. K. Quail, S. A. Pearce, Hopewell & Pratt, G. & J. Williamson, Elder & Boston, and Casper Prince, are entitled to our support and influence, for their stern resistance to the odious propositions of the combination.

RESOLVED, that we recommend those Mechanics not belonging to any association, to hold ward meetings in aid of those Hatters who have been so unjustly thrown out of employment.

RESOLVED, that a subscription book be opened, and that we will do all in our power to sustain them in the noble stand they have taken.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of Mechanics generally, are due to the different Editors for their promptness in giving gratuitous publication to our various notices and proceedings. . .

(2) Statement of the Master Hatters' Association, from the Baltimore *Republican and Advertiser*, July 29, 1833, p. 2, col. 6, 7.

TO THE PUBLIC. The association of "Master Hatters" of the city of Baltimore finding themselves publicly and violently assailed, in the most strange and virulent manner; seeing an attempt making by individuals and associations wholly unprecedented in its character, to render them contemptible in the public estimation, hearing their association denounced as oppressive and tyrannical, and the community invoked to withdraw their patronage from its members as unworthy of its continuance; humbly hope under all these circumstances; that a sufficient apology will be found for appealing from the popular prejudice which has been aroused against them, to the sober, deliberate reflection of their fellow citizens.

Although much inflammatory declamation has been published with a view to agitate the public mind and enlist during the ferment the sympathies of the community in behalf of (as they have been termed) "oppressed Journeyman Hatters," we believe when pruned of its exciting verbiage may be fairly condensed so as to exhibit the following charges. First, the master Hat-

ters of the city of Baltimore have arrogated the right to form an association, and combined together for the purpose of regulating the wages of their workmen: Secondly, they have in pursuance of a resolve of that combination, offered an inadequate and unfair compensation.

Touching the first charge, and the intemperate and novel strictures which have accompanied it, we would at the outset remark, that whilst the members of our association are at all times disposed to condemn the existence of every society created for purposes unsanctioned by the laws, they are not less ready in maintaining and exercising rights which they enjoy in common with the rest of their fellow citizens.

It has never been denied by the journeymen Hatters, that the laws of their association fix the price of their labour and impose penalties for their violation. If then it be wrong in the employer to regulate the wages, it must be equally wrong in the journeymen; if right in the journeymen, it must be equally right in the employer, otherwise you bind in shackles, one of the parties, and place them perfectly defenceless in the hands of the other, to be dealt with as their avarice and cupidity may direct.

Our association pretends not to claim exemption from that common frailty which makes man so often the dupe of his interest: neither do they admit the existence of any such association. They therefore believe that in the regulation of the prices of labour, it is indispensable for their proper and fair establishment, that the different and conflicting interests which are to be affected thereby, should mutually participate and co-operate; they believe that the mutual checks which the opposing interests of the parties, will on such occasions

always put in motion, are as indispensable to a fair standard of fair prices, as are the checks and balances of a well organized government, both being essential to restrain man in his proneness to abuse power when stimulated by interest.

The only boon we ask in the matter is an equality of rights; if the journeymen exist as a society, we claim the same privilege; if they enact laws for the regulation of the prices of labour, we ask permission to do the same; we ask not a jot or tittle more, and to ask less would betoken an absence of that spirit essential to the maintenance of our public as well as private rights.

We do not believe that the period has arrived when it is to be required that the employers of every mechanical business are to surrender to their workmen the exclusive privilege of regulating the wages, without being permitted to pursue such protective measures as will secure them against unreasonable exactions. The citizens of Baltimore are now, from the present posture of things, emphatically called to decide on the fitness and justness of such a state of things. They are called to say whether such requirements are consonant with the public weal, or consistent with any of the known principles of equity by which all difference of opinion and controversies are settled.

We deem it unnecessary to say anything further in answer to this charge; but submit it to the sober judgment of the community, leaving them to determine whether under all the circumstances stated, the bitter and repeated denunciation directed against our association were not (to speak the most charitably of them) wholly gratuitous and uncalled for.

The next charge is that we have attempted a reduc-

tion of twenty-five per cent on a compensation already unsufficient.

It is certainly a fact that the first intimation of the insufficiency of our former prices, has reached us, through the medium of the public prints, and been given, by persons of mechanical profession, other than our own; being unable to recollect that the slightest murmur even escaped the lips of any in our employ on the subject; we would therefore charitably hope that this is an error into which some of our fellow citizens have been betrayed by an excess of those warm and generous feelings, which if not placed under salutary restraint, often exhibit those subjects to their influence in a light in no wise enviable.

A single fact is all that is necessary to show that many of our citizens have been deceived respecting former prices; various estimates have been made by different members of our body, one of which (not the most favourable to ourselves) shews, that nine persons employed in one establishment from January until July, in the present year, earned a weekly average amount of ten dollars and fifty cents, in which average is included the labour of one or two individuals who, from various causes, sickness, &c. did not earn more than six or seven dollars weekly, the average time of labour being, moreover, five days per week.

If we assume as a correct standard the average wages earned by the different mechanics of our city as a correct test by which to ascertain the sufficiency or insufficiency of compensation, it will we think then be found on a comparison either of past prices or of those recently proffered, that the compensation is not only fair but liberal. So conscious were the journeymen of their ability to earn more than eight dollars per week, that

they restricted by their laws each manufactory from the employment of more than one individual at that price.

When it is considered that our workmen are exempt from all taxation for the supply of tools, and are not like many other mechanics, dependent on the weather for constant employment; that our business is one in which the dull season of the year is busily spent in preparing for the brisk, we think that eight dollars per week would be found on comparison more than equal to the average earnings of the mass of the mechanics of our city.

It may be well to inform our fellow citizens that the late bill of prices permits the employer to give as much more than eight dollars as he may think proper; and in virtue of that privilege, one of our body proposed to employ twenty of his former hands at ten dollars per week, or five hundred dollars annually; others have offered nine dollars, which have all been uniformly rejected. If these offers be insufficient, and those prices oppressive, then we must confess our entire ignorance of the meaning of the term.

Much has been said, both publicly and privately, of the injustice of suddenly reducing labor twenty five per cent. This (though not the fact as to the average reduction) may at the first view of the subject appear difficult to defend: yet it so happens in the present instance, where the per centage of reduction is greatest the propriety is most manifest, as will be made evident by the following statement.

Seventeen cents have been paid for sizing wool bodies; twelve and a half are offered. Now we presume there is not a man of candor among our workmen who will not at once confess that sizing sixteen is a perfectly

easy day's work; that twenty-four is repeatedly done, and sometimes thirty; leaving for the smallest number the very ample compensation of two dollars per day. Would there not be more injustice in abstracting three per cent from that man's labor, who earned but one dollar per day, than thirty per cent from that of him who earned two dollars and seventy-two cents?

We would, therefore, respectfully suggest to our fellow citizens, whether in order to arrive at a correct conclusion, it would not be safer to enquire what are the wages offered, rather than what is the per centage taken off. Whilst on this subject it may not be amiss to state, that owing to the nature of the charges for this work, hundreds of dollars are annually sent to the neighbouring towns where it is done at the price we now offer, the person performing it, furnishing their own shop, tools, fuel, &c., without additional charge. Difficulties will be often experienced in establishing the prices of labor. We believe that reductions in wages are oftener the result of necessity than of choice: sometimes forced by competition; sometimes from the improvements in the methods of labor; sometimes from a change in the character of the work, and oftener, probably, by the whole of these causes combined.

That the competition in our city has, during the last ten years, vastly increased must be manifest; and every improvement by which the facilities of commercial communication are increased between Baltimore and our neighbouring rival cities, bring that competition nearer to our doors. Unless, therefore we be able to compete with them, we must look sooner or later to a partial loss of our trade. This view of the subject, however worthy of public attention, is not that on which alone we ground our defence.

We say, unequivocally, that our offers are not only fair, but liberal, whether compared with the compensation received by mechanics generally, in our city, or contrasted with that allowed in our business throughout the Union; and we hold this opinion as amply confirmed by the journeymen themselves in the rejection of the before mentioned offers that have been made them.

We have no objection to take the average amount of the work entered on our books as having been performed by our workmen, and deduct, therefrom, the difference between the old and new prices, and compare the balance with the fair average amount earned by those who have railed most loudly against our injustice; conscious that they themselves would be surprised (if a more unpleasant feeling should not predominate,) at the comparison presented.

The members of our association have, some of them, been long, and they would not hope unfavourably known to the Baltimore public. Some are just in the course of acquiring a reputation, and all, we trust, tenacious of their standing in the public estimation. They have therefore felt themselves bound by self respect as well as by the urgent advices of their friends, to trespass on the indulgence of the public with this statement; cherishing the hope that the unnatural excitement which has been so mysteriously conjured up, may be allayed, by calling into action the sound sense and sober reason, the reflection and intelligence of an impartial community.

Signed by the committee appointed for that purpose, in behalf of the association.

PETER LEARY, THOS. SAPPINGTON, WM. P. COLE.

(b) THE UNION TRADE SOCIETY

(1) Its Formation, from the Baltimore *Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 6, 1833, p. 2, col. 6.

The Convention composed of Delegates from the different branches of mechanical business, to take into consideration the propriety of forming a Union Trade Society, met on Wednesday evening, September 4, at Bailey's Theatre Tavern, pursuant to public notice, when on motion, Richard Marley, was called to the Chair, Wm. S. M'Cauley, appointed Vice President, Robt. Rickets, Secretary, and Jno. L. Munroe, Assistant Secretary.

Delegates from the following Societies then reported, viz: Cordwainers, Ladies Branch, [5], Coach Makers, [5], Cabinet Makers, [4], Hatters, [5], Copper, Tin Plate and Sheet Iron Workers, [5], Tobacconists, [3], Tailors, [5], Coopers, [5], Blacksmiths, Engineers, and Machinists, [5], Marble Stone Cutters, [5], Cordwainers, Men's Branch, [5], House Carpenters, [5], Printers, [5], Chair Makers and Ornamental Painters, [3], Painters, [1]. [Names of delegates omitted; number of signatures in brackets.]

The following resolutions were then adopted:

RESOLVED, unanimously, that this Convention now form itself into a Union Trade Society.

RESOLVED, that the present Delegation, and others intending to join the Society, appoint one from their own body, as a committee to draft a Constitution and By-Laws. The following persons were then announced said Committee: R. Marley, Wm. McPhail, John I. Johnson, Richard Mills, John Gross, Wm. A. Boyd, James W. Lowe, James Patterson, John D. Nicholes, Robert K. Wiley, Wm. L. McCauley, Wm. Caldwell, Joseph Smith, Jno. H. Tucker, and Lloyd Clarridge.

RESOLVED, that a Committee of five be appointed to draft an Address to the Mechanics throughout the City. J. Jones, J. R. Hayman, Thomas H. Standford, Edward Barker, and G. W. Walker, were appointed by the Convention.

RESOLVED, that when the Committee on the Constitution are prepared to report, they inform the President of the same, who shall forthwith assemble the Convention. . .

(2) Address to Mechanics, from the Baltimore *Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 12, 1833, p. 2, col. 6.

To the Operative Mechanics of the City of Baltimore.

At a meeting of the Delegates from various mechanical bodies; it was unanimously resolved to form a Union Trade Society, composed of representatives from all the Mechanical Societies of this city, and the undersigned were appointed to advise you of this resolution, and to urge you to a participation in the measure.

Were it not for the novelty of the undertaking, it would be deemed unnecessary to lay before you the advantages which must suggest themselves to your minds, as likely to follow the formation of this Union Society, in contemplating the object it has in view – and in doing this, they feel a confidence in the justness of their conclusions, which lead them to hope their labor will not be vain. It will be necessary here to premise; that it is the intent and purpose of the Union Society that distinct and separate societies be formed by all the mechanics; and they would urge upon every man to attach himself to the society composed of the members of his own particular calling.

This being the case, and representatives deputed from each separate society, will meet and form the Union, which is to be the organ of communication between

them, and whose decision shall be final, as far as the great body of mechanics are concerned, on all questions and objects which require, for their successful accomplishment, the united action of mechanics. This will necessarily beget a community of interest, and create a perfect and friendly understanding among them, whereby, it is hoped, a greater respect for themselves will be engendered, and a highest appreciation of the standing they occupy in this country awakened.

It cannot but strike every reflecting and observing man that a spirit unfriendly to the standing and pursuits of mechanics, is fast gaining ground in this country, and which is daily manifesting itself to their disadvantage; it will be the purpose of the Union Society, by the adoption of such measures as prudence may dictate, to save mechanics from the more extended operation of this spirit. The result of which, if not stopped in its onward course, will be to bring them to a state of servitude less enviable that that of the vassals of the feudal lords and princes – because they may hold the name but lose all the rights of freemen.

They cannot but believe that in this they will have the countenance and friendly aid of every true patriot – for all experience teaches that by the destruction of the working class of a free country or a curtailment of their pursuits, the liberty of the country suffers in the same ratio.

> Curs'd be that land, to lasting ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay;
> Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
> A breath can make them as a breath has made:
> But the bold workingmen their country's pride
> When once destroyed can never be supplied.

It will be the earnest and unceasing desire of the

Union Society to advance the intellectual character of mechanics – and by encouraging every thing calculated to better their condition, awaken a confidence in each other, which by judicious application of their united efforts will tend to place the working class in the scale of human society, to which by their industry and usefulness, they are justly entitled.

All Mechanical Societies, who have not already sent delegates to the union convention are requested to do so – the next meeting of which will be announced in a few days – when the committee on the Constitution will report. JOSHUA JONES, J. R. HAYMAN,
THOS. H. STANFORD, GEO. W. WALKER.
Baltimore, Sept. 10, 1833.

(c) BALTIMORE TRADES' UNION

(1) Report on Condition and Prospects, from the *National Trades' Union*, May 9, 1835, p. 2, col. 4.

Extract from the report of a committee appointed on the part of the societies composing the union to investigate its concerns and report on its condition and prospects. They reported its finances "in a very flattering condition."

"The past inclement season has been unpropitious to the working-men generally, yet notwithstanding upwards of fifteen associations have regularly contributed, showing their determination to sustain an institution that may ultimately be called upon to succor and protect them. It, like most other similar bodies, has had to contend with some opposition; its object being wilfully misrepresented, and its influence wrongly condemned; and if your Committee may digress so far, (and with feelings of boldness they do in this respect, knowing they speak the indignant sentiment of the Union,) without any need of adducing further proof, deny that the Union has at any time, by principle or action,

aided or abetted in any-wise, any political scheme or party; but on the contrary have sufficient evidence to show their even declining to co-operate in any measure that might lead to such an issue, and hope this unequivocal fact, ratified by the Union itself, will forever put at rest that point. Were your Committee at liberty, and not restricted by the limits of a report, they would fully discuss the advantages to be derived from, and the great necessity of sustaining, an institution like this; they, therefore, invite a general attention to its past and present transactions, which augur much for the future, and there will be found to exist a perfect analogy.

During the brief existence of the Union, few things of great moment have come before them for their action, but your Committee with great satisfaction could refer you to several important measures, mutually beneficial to all, but leave them for time fully to develop. This institution, unincorporated, and undisguised in all its transactions, mutually assists the employer and employed, in maintaining a steady tariff of wages, which in all cases corresponds with the exigencies of the times; nor is there ground, when we look at the average depreciation of labor, to suppose that a zeal for self-aggrandizement, springing from the power capable of being wielded by bodies like this, will ever cause the bounds of reason to be overleaped, and especially in a community with which our welfare is closely identified, by extorting an undue remuneration for services, as it would be utterly at variance with the very 'measures' we desire to establish. Indeed, so long as can be preserved unanimity and co-operation among the associations composing the Union, it may scarce have a cause to exercise its protective power. But this argues nothing in favor of relaxing our energy from apparent

security, but should rather increase our vigilance that we may the better be prepared to meet it should a crisis arrive. Hence such an institution tends to a friendly alliance in a common cause, and, therefore, the necessity of maintaining it.

Your Committee, in conclusion, believe they have sufficiently noticed the affairs of the Union, and made such general remarks as were requisite to their elucidation, as show a judicious management of its finances, and the objects of its formation in no manner infringed; and if the same zealous co-operation of the members exists as has heretofore, the results will be cheering to the young, consoling to the aged, an anchor amidst us, an ark to shelter us from oppression, and a sanctuary for our "rights and privileges."

(2) Routine Business.

National Trades' Union, Feb. 20, 1836, p. 2, col. 2. Proceedings of a meeting of the Trades' Union held on February 4, 1836.

Baltimore, Feb. 4, 1836. The Union met this evening at 7 o'clock – President in the chair and a quorum present.

The Committee of Conference reported an application from the Plane Makers' Society, praying to be reinstated to their former standing in the Union, by paying all arrearages from the time of their default, and recommended their admission. The Society was, on motion, admitted as a member, and reported the following delegates: Marshall L. Meeteer, Charles S. Moran, William K. Boggus, Richard Taylor, Edwin Caldwell.

Mr. Robert Bankhead, from the Cordwainers, ladies' branch, was reported as a delegate in the place of William Hissey, resigned.

The following Societies reported that their contribu-

tions were severally ordered to be doubled, and so continued whilst the Marble Workers are on the strike; Carpet Weavers, Typographical Society, Cordwainers, ladies' branch, Journeymen Tailors' Society.

Mr. George S. Redden, from the Hatters' delegation, submitted the following preamble, with the accompanying resolution, which were unanimously adopted: Whereas, there are existing among the inhabitants of all civil communities, certain absolute and relative rights and duties, which the harmony and good order of society demand; and whereas, it is necessary, whenever one portion of any such community shall feel itself aggrieved in consequence of the subversion, or attempted subversion, of its rights originally conceded, to use all the pacific, honorable and independent means called for by the occasion, to frustrate the designs of those who, for self-aggrandisement, would thus subvert the first principles of government; and whereas, the editors of the *Trades' Union,* Messrs. Bull & Tuttle, having regarded the time as arrived, when the operatives of Baltimore should arouse themselves from their lethargy, and assert and maintain their rights, have, at their own expense and upon their own responsibility, established a weekly paper in this city, denominated the Baltimore *Trades' Union*, whereby they (the operatives) are enabled more efficiently to foil those who would seek to despoil them of those high and just privileges guaranteed to them by the constitution of our state and country—be it therefore resolved, that the delegates from the different members comprising this Union be, and they are hereby requested to lay the subject before the respective societies which they represent, at their next monthly or stated meetings, and to urge the appointment of a Committee by each, whose duty shall be to obtain subscribers to the *Trades' Union* paper.

Mr. Wm. Darnes, from the Carpenters' delegation, moved that so much of the proceedings of the National Trades' Union as relates to the memorializing Congress respecting the ten hour system, be taken up for consideration. The memorial of the National Trades' Union was then read, and on motion of the same gentleman a Committee of five was appointed, to draft a memorial to Congress on the same subject, and have 100 copies printed for the use of the Union. The chair appointed Messrs. W. Darnes, W. Johnston, F. Gallagher, G. H. Redden and H. D. Cooper, said Committee.

On motion, the Union then adjourned. By order,

W. JOHNSTON, Secretary.

3. WASHINGTON

(a) ADDRESS TO THE WORKING MEN OF THE DISTRICT

Extracts from an address published in pamphlet form, Dec., 1835.

Address to the Mechanics of the District of Columbia.

FRIENDS – FELLOW-WORKINGMEN: The Trades' Union Convention, deem it necessary, in this manner, to address you – to set forth the nature and objects of the Union, that you may judge of its utility and the many advantages to be derived from the Association. . . The Convention is further urged to come before you, from the fact, that although the Trades' Union has been in existence for more than two years in this city, it is known, comparatively, but by a very small number, and the purposes of its founders less understood by those whom it is intended to benefit. This evil, the Convention wishes to cure, and at the same time, by a plain, full, and candid expose of their principles and views, to spread them as wide and openly as possible, that all who wish to join with them in the righteous work they have begun, may be induced to come forward, and with us, receive the just reward of our honest endeavors – likewise to silence those recreants, who skulk insidiously among their fellow-workingmen, poisoning their minds against us, and thus, deprive others from receiving those benefits that they themselves, by their baseness, are unworthy of enjoying – to vindicate our principles from the foul misconstructions that are given to them, and the base aspersions of our motives, by those whose interest it is to oppress their fellow men. By so doing,

we conceive that we are performing a duty incumbent upon us for our own welfare, and workingmen in general.

Trades' Union, fellow-citizens, is no experiment; its practicability, and the advantages to be derived from it, are no longer to be doubted. It has been tried in the fiery ordeal of persecution, but by its justness, and the firmness of its advocates, it has escaped thus far unscathed. When a union of workingmen was first proposed, it was ridiculed, and its advocates abused – it was considered by some, who are now among its votaries, as impossible; it was condemned as dangerous to the purity and durability of our Republican Institutions, by those vultures who have so long preyed upon us – its advocates were branded as disorganizers – the terrors of sedition; the charge of agrarianism, and all that could be found to urge against it, in hopes of breaking it down. But the enemies of equal rights, have been disappointed in their unjust warfare, and the Union stands firm and prosperous, increasing daily in experience, respectability, and power.

[An account of the formation of the New York Trades' Union is omitted.]

In laying before you the objects of the Union, permit us to make a few extracts from its Constitution. The Preamble declares, that,

The Journeymen Mechanics of the different Trades in the District of Columbia, having observed that their brethren in other parts of the United States, have formed themselves into General Societies, and that such Unions have been attended with very beneficial effects, and laboring, themselves, under oppressive customs, such as to deprive them, in many Trades, of the unalienable right of fixing the prices of their own labor, have determined to follow the laudable example set before them, and place themselves in that situation that will free them from the shackles of unjust and tyrannous exactions, without

interfering with the interests or business of others. They have, therefore, formed themselves into a General Trades' Union, for the purpose of yielding mutual support and protection to each other.

And Article 12, sets forth that, "The funds of the Convention shall be appropriated to defray all necessary expenses; to maintain the present scale of prices to all members who are fairly remunerated; to raise up all such as are oppressed; to alleviate the distresses of those suffering from want of employment; and to sustain the honor and interests of the "Union."

ARTICLE 13. Each Trade or Art, may represent to the Convention, through their Delegates, their grievances, who take cognizance thereof, and decide upon the same.

ARTICLE 14. No Trade or Art, striking for higher wages, or other cause, without the consent of the Convention, will be entitled to support from the Trades' Union.

. . . Among the first objects which the Union has taken into consideration, as calling for their united efforts, is the ten-hour system, and an equalization of wages. These are considered as primary steps to be gained before others are attempted. Taking into consideration, that we, workingmen, in this country, as a part, and in fact, the majority of the community, have a right to claim at least, an equal share of the fruits of our labor and time to enjoy it—and when it is attempted to be wrest from us, or denied, to use all fair and honorable means to obtain or save it. The advocates of the Union so consider it, and they know that the condition of the workingmen can be made much better, without danger to our free institutions.

The ten-hour system, is one of vital importance to workingmen, so long as they are free and wish to continue so. Want of information and ignorance, is the common cry, always railed against the working class in this and other countries, whenever the subject of self-government is brought forward—not by those who wish to better their condition, but by such, whose interest

it is to keep them ignorant, who would condemn them to labor for their benefit, whilst they enjoy it in calm repose, or forming new schemes, whereby to draw more from them. Let the ten-hour system be established, and we have obtained one step to improve our condition – this will give us time for study and useful reflections, and by a few hours, thus afforded, we can gain much useful knowledge, and be better able to perform our allotted labor, more to our employers' advantage and our own. . .

" . . We ask for a universal system of education; for universal suffrage; for the abolishment of monopolies; for the abolishment of imprisonment for debt; and for a just representation of all interests. These are the objects we ask, and all we ask. The charges that are made against us of agrarianism, and a desire to strip from the rich the possessions they have acquired, or which have descended to them by inheritance, is as false as the spirit is despicable that makes the charge. . . "

(b) PROCEEDINGS, 1836

National Trades' Union, Feb. 6, 1836, p. 2, col. 2, 3.
Proceedings of Trades' Union Convention of the District of Columbia.
Meeting of Jan. 25.

. . . The following delegates present: Mr. John G. Robinson from the Carpenters; J. Ray and G. W. Grant from the Brick-layers; W. S. Russell, T. Croser and H. O. Whitmore from Cordwainers Ladies' Branch, and J. P. McKean from Bookbinders. The following credentials were received: of Messrs. F. J. Murphy and James Douglass from the Carpenters in place of Benjamin Harwood and Edward Hamilton; of Messrs. A. G. Atkinson, Wm. McPhail and Thomas W. S. Boyd, from the society of Saddlers and Harness

Makers of the District, together with a notice of the formation of said Society, and a list of its members. The several credentials were received, and the delegates invited to take their seats in the Convention. . .

On motion of Mr. Russell, ordered that a committee of two be appointed by the chair, to wait on Mr. Milo of Albany, N.Y., and requested him to address the meeting. The chair appointed Messrs. W. S. Russell and J. Ray as said committee.

The committee appointed at the last meeting "to take into consideration the principles and views set forth in the address to the mechanics and the expediency of printing the same," made a favorable report, and recommended that the address be printed; when, on motion, resolved that the Secretary be directed to have 500 copies of the address printed in pamphlet form, and that he be authorized to draw on the Finance committee for the cost of the same, and further, resolved that the Secretary have the address printed at the "Mirror office."

Mr. Russell offered the following resolutions which were adopted. Resolved, that the Secretary commence a correspondence with all the conventions of which he may be acquainted with. Resolved, that the proceedings of the convention be sent to the *National Trades' Union*, N.Y., for publication monthly.

Mr. McKean offered the following resolution which was adopted: resolved, that a committee of one from each Trade be appointed to take into consideration the expediency of adopting rules and penalties, as respects the non-attendance of delegates to the meetings of the convention, and that they report thereon at the next meeting. On motion, ordered that the committee be appointed by the convention. The following were nom-

inated and elected as said committee: Messrs. J. G. Robinson, J. P. McKean, N. G. Nichols, T. Creser, P. Pearson and A. G. Atkinson. . .

The committee appointed to wait on Mr. Milo, reported that he had consented to address the convention in a few remarks. Whereupon Mr. Milo was conducted to the President's chair. He addressed the convention in a few plain and friendly remarks on Trades' Unions and the interest of Mechanics. When he had concluded, on motion, unanimously resolved, that the thanks of the convention be tendered to Mr. Milo for his kindness in addressing the convention.

On motion of Mr. Russell it was resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to wait on Mr. Ely Moore of N.Y., and invite him to attend the meetings of the convention, whenever it may be convenient for him to do so. The following were appointed as committee: Messrs. W. S. Russell, J. P. McKean and J. Ray. . . JAMES P. MCKEAN, Sec'y.

National Trades' Union, March 12, 1836, p. 2, col. 4, 5. Meeting of February 22.

. . . Mr. Robinson, of the Committee that was appointed at the last meeting to take into consideration the expediency of adopting rules and penalties, as respects the non-attendance of Delegates to the meetings of the Convention, reported Articles, which the Committee deemed most salutary. After considerable debate, and some amendments, the following Preamble and Articles were adopted:

The Committee to whom was referred the consideration of a resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Convention, relative to the neglect of its members in attendance, have duly considered the same, and have come to the conclusion that it is of the highest import-

ance that each member should attend regular and punctual, the neglect of which shows carelessness towards the important cause in which we are engaged, neglect of the duties of the office to which he has been appointed by his society, and a contempt towards the Convention; and, therefore, is not worthy of a seat in the Convention as a delegate. In the opinion of the Committee, the first and principal step towards making the Union have weight and respectability with the public, and also with its members, is, the punctual attendance of the delegates. If the cause in which we are engaged is not worthy the attention of the representative, then it is a fair conclusion that it is not worthy the attention of the public, whose notice it is the delegate's particular duty to solicit. The meetings of the Convention only occupy three hours in a month; if it be not worth that much time, it must be worth nothing; and he who thinks so little of it as not to be willing to spare that much of his time to its concerns, should not be considered worthy the representative of a society from any branch of mechanics. Yet the Committee are convinced that circumstances may occur that will prevent the most attentive from attending at times; but when it is so constant and repeatedly the case of non-attendance, it must be for the want of proper respect for the Union and Convention. The Committee would, therefore, recommend to the Convention the following as By-Laws, relative to non-attendance, in addition to such as have been before agreed on:

ARTICLE I. It shall be the duty of the delegates to attend all meetings of the Convention.

ARTICLE II. Any delegate neglecting to attend a meeting of the Convention, shall, at the next stated meeting, be called by the Secretary, after the reading

of the proceedings, and he shall state the reason of his non-attendance; and, if a majority of the Convention are of opinion that the excuse is sufficient, he shall be excused; if not, it shall be recorded as a neglect of his duty.

ARTICLE III. Any member absenting himself the second time in succession, shall be reported to the society to which he is a member, in writing, by the Secretary, through one of his colleagues, to be by him laid before them for their action.

ARTICLE IV. Any delegate absenting himself the third time in succession, shall be considered as having treated the Convention with contempt, and shall be no longer worthy or hold a seat therein as a delegate, which shall be declared by the Chair previous to the adjournment of the Convention, and entered on the journal by the Secretary in the following words: "Mr. —— a delegate from ——— Society, by neglect of duty in not attending the meetings of the Convention, has treated it with contempt; and, therefore, is no longer worthy a seat therein as a delegate."

ARTICLE V. All proceedings relative to delinquent members shall be reported to their respective societies, by the Secretary, through his colleague, previous to the next meeting of the society to which such delinquent is a member.

ARTICLE VI. Nothing contained in the foregoing rules shall be so construed as to preclude the right of appeal to all delegates who may be affected by its enforcement. Appeals may be made verbal or in writing, and decided by ballot.

J. G. ROBINSON, N. G. NICHOLLS, J. P. MCKEAN, T. CREASER, P. M. PEARSON, Committee.

Mr. Russell, of the Invitation Committee, reported

that they had waited on Mr. Ely Moore, according to the resolution, and he had accepted the invitation, and would attend the meetings whenever it was convenient for him so to do.

Mr. McKean reported that the addresses he was instructed to have printed were now on the Secretary's table, and moved that they be distributed in the following manner, viz: to each member of the Union two copies, and each delegate ten, which was agreed to. On motion of Mr. Russell, it was resolved, that five copies of the address be sent to each Convention with which we are acquainted.

Pennsylvanian, March 2, 1836, p. 2, col. 6. Also in *National Trades' Union*, March 19, 1836, p. 2, col. 3. Meeting of February 24.

. . . Credentials were received from the Trade Society of Philadelphia, appointing John G. Donaldson and Isaac Abel, delegates to solicit and receive aid for their Trades' support. The delegation stated the object of their visit in a very plain and brief manner.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Bond: resolved, that the unappropriated funds now in the Treasury be appropriated to aid the Bookbinders of Philadelphia, now on a strike, which was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. Maguire, a committee was appointed consisting of one from each trade, with permission to retire for a few minutes, to draft resolutions expressive of our views relating to their just strike. The committee returned and reported the following: whereas, this Convention having received a note from the Philadelphia Trades' Union, of a Committee from the Bookbinders of that city, and now on a strike, recommending them to our favorable consideration, and as we have been informed of the particulars of said

strike, by the committee, and by printed statements – therefore, be it resolved, that we applaud the Journeymen Bookbinders of Philadelphia, for their determined stand against the unjust measures that have been brought against them by their employers. Resolved, that we consider it a matter of principle, involving the most sacred rights of mechanics in general, and not confined to a portion only; for if one set of employers succeed in coercing their workmen into such measures as they please to dictate and insist on, in the plentitude of their power, the same will be followed by the others, and thus will the journeymen be compelled to bend their necks in humble submission to their lordly masters. Resolved, that we consider the course that has been pursued by the Employing Bookbinders of Philadelphia towards the Journeymen, as illiberal, unjust and ungentlemanly, and that their combining together to starve the journeymen into submission at this inclement season of the year, is palpably mean and contemptible. Resolved, that there be a committee of one from each trade appointed for the purpose of soliciting further contributions.

Mr. Ray offered the following resolution, which was adopted: resolved, that the Treasurer be and is hereby authorized to pay to the delegation of Bookbinders from Philadelphia, the sum appropriated to the support of the strike of the Bookbinders of that city.

On motion of Mr. McKain, it was resolved, that a Committee of three be appointed to present Mr. Eli Moore the memorial now in the possession of the Convention, praying for the reduction of hours of labor on the public works in the United States. The committee consist of Mr. McKain, Mr. Ray, and Mr. Robinson. . .

W. S. RUSSELL, Sec'y.

National Trades' Union, April 2, 1836, p. 3, col. 3. Meeting of March 28.

. . . The Credentials of Mr. T. Mitchell were received and accepted as Delegates from the Ladies' branch of Cordwainers, in place of Walter Russell, resigned. The Reports of the Finance Committee and Treasurer, were received and approved. The Corresponding Secretary laid before the Convention a letter from the Trades' Union of Newark. Mr. J. Halliday was nominated and elected an individual member of the Convention. The Convention then went into an election of Recording Secretary. . .

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Cunningham: resolved, that a Committee be appointed to take into consideration the late decision of Judge Savage, in the case of the Cordwainers of Geneva, and that they report their views of the subject, and give an expose of this Convention's convictions and determination of opposing all such partial and unjust decision, and that they report at large. Whereupon, a warm and animated debate arose on the latter clause. Mr. McGuin moved to strike out the latter part of the resolution. The resolution as thus amended was adopted. On motion, the Committee to consist of six, and to be appointed by the chair. The following were appointed as said committee: J. P. McKean, A. F. Cunningham, T. Mitchell, A. G. Atkinson, J. C. McGuin, and P. W. Pearsons. On motion, the Convention adjourned.

J. P. McKEAN, acting Rec. Sec'y.

Washingtonian, May 26, 1836, p. 3, col. 3. Meeting of May 23.

. . . It being the first regular meeting of a new constitutional year, the Convention was organized by Mr. Bond being called to take the chair, and J. P. McKean, as acting Secretary.

The credentials of the delegates were presented in order, as the different trades were called belonging to the Union, after which, on motion, the Convention proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year, when the following persons were duly elected. Mr. J. G. Robinson, *President*; Mr. W. Bond, *Vice President*; and, *ex officio, Chairman Finance Committee*; Mr. B. B. Russell, *Recording Secretary*; Mr. J. P. McKean, *Corresponding Secretary*; Mr. P. M. Pearson, *Treasurer*; Mr. James Douglass, Mr. Wm. Mitchell, Mr. J. C. McGuire, Mr. T. W. S. Boyd, *Members Finance Committee.* . .

National Laborer, June 11, 1836, p. 47, col. 4. Meeting of May 30.

. . . The Corresponding Secretary then read a letter from the Trades' Union of Cincinnati, stating that they had organized a Union, consisting of fourteen Trades, numbering about seven hundred names; also a letter from the Corresponding Secretary of Louisville, Kentucky, informing the Convention that they had formed a Union, and that a procession of Trades was contemplated.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had inquired of the different presses as to the terms on which they would publish the proceedings of this Convention, and stated that Mr. Cunningham, the editor of the *Washingtonian*, would insert the same on as reasonable terms as any other paper in the city; whereupon he offered the following: resolved, that the proceedings of this body be published in the *Washingtonian,* and that the Corresponding Secretary be authorized to procure a sufficient number of copies to forward to the different Trades' Unions. Resolved, that the Delegates be requested to use their best exertions to for-

ward the interest and increase the subscription list of the *Washingtonian*.

Mr. Gholson, from the Committee appointed to memorialize Congress on the subject of Penitentiary labour, reported at length. The memorial being read, was, on motion, laid on the table for this evening.

Mr. Cunningham offered the following resolution, which was adopted. Resolved, that this Convention recommend to their different Trades to have a celebration on the fourth day of July next, and that the Delegates inform them that the Rev. Theophilus Fisk will deliver an address on the occasion. . .

Mr. Mitchell nominated J. M. Cuyler to become an individual member of the Trades' Union, which was rejected on a constitutional ground, as being a member of a Trade which was represented in this Convention.

A preamble and resolutions offered by Mr. Gholson, approbatory of the remarks of the Hon. Ely Moore, lately delivered in the House of Representatives, in defence of the Mechanics and Workingmen, were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed. On motion, it was ordered that the Corresponding Secretary cause a copy of said preamble and resolution to be forwarded to Mr. Moore. . . B. B. RUSSELL, Secretary.

Washingtonian, June 30, 1836, p. 3, col. 2. Meeting of June 27.

. . . A communication was received from the United Trade Society of Journeymen Cordwainers, of Georgetown; and one from the Bakers Benefit Society, of Washington, stating that they had elected Delegates to represent their Trades in the Convention, who presented their credentials, and took their seats. The chairman of the Finance Committee made his monthly report. The Corresponding Secretary, who had been some evenings previous authorized to have a report up-

on the late decision of Judge Savage published in one of the city papers reported, that Mr. Cunningham would publish said report in the *Washingtonian*, provided the Convention will order an extra number of copies, whereupon the following resolution was adopted: resolved, that the Corresponding Secretary be, and he is hereby, authorized to have the report published in an extra *Washingtonian*, provided it can be done on the same terms as the paper is now issued.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of the first number of a paper published in Cincinnati, entitled the *Working Man's Friend*. The Committee appointed at the last meeting of the Convention, to confer with the Committee of Mechanics who proposed burning the effigy of Judge Edwards, reported that they had held said Conference, and that the Committee on the part of that meeting accede to the request of this Convention, to desist from that proceeding.

The following resolution offered by Mr. Edmonston was adopted. Resolved, that a Committee of Eight (one from each Trade,) be appointed to revise the Constitution, and prepare Rules of Order for the Government of this Trades' Union. The members appointed a committee agreeable to this resolution, are – Messrs. M'Kean, Robinson, Russell, Jeffries, M'Phail, Ray, Bond, and Clarke.

Mr. R. Burch offered his resignation as a Delegate of this Convention, and it was accepted. The letter of withdrawal, from Mr. A. F. Cunningham, which was received at a previous meeting and laid on the table, was taken up, and on motion of Mr. M'Phail a Committee was appointed to confer with him on the same. Mr. Ray offered the following resolution, which was adopted: resolved, that although Mr. A. F. Cun-

ningham has tendered his withdrawal to this body, no doubt from wounded feelings, because of unfounded remarks and opinions of a few inconsiderate individuals; yet, be it known, that we, the members of this Convention, feel under many obligations to him, for the interest he has manifested in the cause of the Working Men; and that we deprecate a separation of Mr. Cunningham from our Union, and that we cannot too highly appreciate his labors amongst us. On motion the letter was again laid on the table. . .

B. B. RUSSELL, Secretary.

Washingtonian, July 29, 1836, p. 4, col. 1. Meeting of July 25.

. . . A communication was received from the society of Cordwainers, of Alexandria, stating that they had elected the following persons as delegates to the Convention: Messrs. Julias G. Swain, George L. Deeton, and Henry Tarlton, and with a list of members. Credentials of Mr. Silas Moore, from the Carpenters, in place of Mr. Remigus Burch, resigned; also, the credentials of Mr. Richard Loane, from the United Trade Society, of Cordwainers of Georgetown, in place of Mr. Peter Croull, resigned. The several credentials were accepted, and the delegates took their seats. . .

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from the Corresponding Secretary of the Trades Union, of Louisville, Kentucky, repeating the substance of a former communication, proposing a "Consolidated Union of Unions." He also laid before the Convention the resignation of Mr. Russell as Recording Secretary, which, on motion, was accepted. The chairman of the committee to revise the Constitution, and propose rules of order, reported progress.

Mr. Ray offered a preamble and resolutions in honor

of the memory of James Madison, late ex-president of the United States – which was read, and laid on the table. The following preamble and resolution was offered by Mr. P. M. Pearson, and adopted: Whereas, frequent inconvenience has been experienced by the Convention, by the non-attendance of the chairmen of the different committees and other officers of the Convention, therefore resolved, that any committee, or other officer of the Convention, having charge of any business necessary to be acted on at the regular stated meeting of the Convention, failing to attend to the discharge of said duties by a regular report at the time appointed, be considered as guilty of gross neglect of duty, and manifesting a coolness in the cause of working men, highly to be reprobated.

RESOLVED, that the Recording Secretary be, and is hereby directed, to procure a roll book for the use of the Convention. . . .

J. P. M'KEAN, Rec. Sec'y pro tem.

Washingtonian, Aug. 26, 1836, p. 3, col. 1, 2. Meeting of August 18.

A special meeting of the Convention was held this evening, to take into consideration an invitation from the Union Literary and Debating Society to the President and members of the Trades Union to attend the delivery of an Eulogy on the life and character of James Madison, on Monday evening, 22d instant. The Convention being called to order, and a quorum being present, the President stated the object of the meeting. The letter of invitation and answer was then read by the Secretary. Mr. Mitchell moved that the invitation be accepted. The motion gave rise to considerable debate, on the ground of interfering with important business of the Convention, to be taken up at the regular meeting, notice being given that business of moment

would be laid before the Convention, at that time, by the Ladies Branch of Cordwainers of the city. Mr. Pearson moved to lay the motion to accept the invitation on the table, which was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Pearson then moved that when the Convention adjourns, it adjourn to meet on Saturday evening next—which motion was debated and negatived. On motion of Mr. Pearson, the question of accepting the invitation was again taken up for consideration, which was further debated. Mr. Pearson offered the following resolution: resolved, that the hour of meeting on Monday evening next, 22d inst. be at half past six o'clock. Mr. Ray moved to strike out all after the word resolved, and insert, That the Convention will meet to do business on Saturday evening next, at 7 o'clock.

The President decided the motion to be out of order, being similar to a motion negatived by the Convention, which cannot be again renewed. Mr. Ray appealed from the decision—and the question was put, shall the decision of the chair be reversed; which was decided in the negative. Mr. Moore moved to lay the resolution on the table, which was rejected. The question was called for on the adoption of the resolution to meet at half past six o'clock, and passed in the affirmative. The motion was again renewed to accept the invitation, which, after debate, was passed in the affirmative. On motion of Mr. Pearson, ordered that the Secretary request the members of the Union to attend the meeting of the Convention on Monday evening next.

On motion of Mr. Goldson, resolved, that a Committee of Conference be appointed, to consist of three members, to confer with the Ladies Branch of Cord-

wainers, on the subject of their present grievances. On motion, the committee was appointed by the Convention, and the following were elected to constitute said committee: Messrs. Ray, Moore and Bond.

Mr. Pearson offered the following resolution, which was accepted – resolved, that the Corresponding Secretary be, and is hereby requested to communicate with the Trades Union of Philadelphia, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there has not been an effort made recently by some of the employing Bricklayers of this city to induce Journeymen Bricklayers to come here to work; and if so, to request them to refrain from coming, as the Bricklayers believe there are enough to do the work, and they also believe the intention to be to keep down, and, perhaps, to reduce wages. . .

James P. M'KEAN, Sec'y pro tem.

Washingtonian, Aug. 29, 1836, p. 3, col. 2, 3. Meeting of August 22.

. . . The following credentials were presented and accepted: credentials of Messrs. Thomas L. Johnson, and J. H. Newman, from the Cordwainer's Society, of Georgetown, in place of Wm. Jeffries and Richard Loane, resigned; and the credentials of Mr. Wm. Bond, from Cordwainers, Men's Branch, certifying his re-appointment as delegate. The credentials were accepted and the delegates took their seats in the Convention. . .

The committee to confer with the delegates from Cordwainers, Ladies Branch, submitted the following report and resolution: the committee appointed to confer with the delegates from the Ladies' Branch of Cordwainers of this city beg leave to report – that we have examined the list of prices and, also, the additions that are proposed to be made, and from the best information

we are able to arrive at, (and we believe we are correctly informed,) the advance proposed will not exceed twelve and a half cents on any single job, the advance being from two and a half to twelve and a half cents on particular jobs of work, and about sixteen per cent on the dollar. The average earnings of men upon this work, at the advance proposed will be, about ten dollars per week, or one dollar and fifty cents per day. Your committee are, therefore, of an opinion that the advance proposed is not unreasonable, and that the compensation for labor in this case is nothing more than every mechanic is entitled to, and ought to receive.

J. RAY, S. MOORE, WM. BOND – Committee.

RESOLVED, that the Ladies Branch of Cordwainers of this city hereby have the consent of this Convention to strike, if they think proper; and that this Trades Union will do all in their power to sustain them in their efforts as proposed in the report of the Committee of Conference.

Mr. Nichols moved that the report be accepted, which, after debate, was adopted. Mr. Pearson moved to adopt the resolution proposed by the committee – and the question being taken on its adoption, was decided in the affirmative. . .

Mr. Gholson offered the following resolution. Resolved, that this Convention recommend to those persons engaged on the Men's Branch (of Cordwainers,) who are working for employers that refuse to sign the list of prices, on the part of the Ladies' Branch, to cease working, in order to assist them in obtaining the object of their strike. The resolution was debated, and, on motion of Mr. Ray, it was laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Moore, the Convention adjourned, to attend the Eulogy on the life and character of James Madison.

JAMES P. M'KEAN, Sec'y.

Washingtonian, Oct. 1, 1836, p. 2, col. 3; p. 3, col. 1, 2. Meeting of September 26.

. . . Mr. Walter L. Penn presented his credentials as a delegate from the "Washington Benevolent Society of Journeymen Cordwainers," in place of Christopher Spence, resigned, and took his seat. A letter from Mr. A. F. Cunningham, giving his reasons for withdrawing from the Convention, was read, and, with a letter from a committee to him, ordered to be published.

The delegation from the Men's Branch of Cordwainers brought before the Convention a new List of Prices, adopted by their Society, and asked the consent of the Convention to them, which was referred to a committee, who made the following report:

The Committee appointed to confer with the delegation of Men's Branch of Cordwainers, beg leave to report, that from all the information they could receive on the subject, and from the fact asserted, that the increase of the List of Prices will not allow more than eight dollars per week, on the ten hour system, would beg leave to submit the following resolution: resolved, that the Men's Branch of Cordwainers attached to this Convention, have the consent of this Convention to strike, if their demands be not complied with.

P. M. Pearson, James Douglas
Thomas S. W. Boyd, Samuel Goldson.

The resolution, after some explanations from the Cordwainers delegation, was adopted.

Mr. Wm. Bury, on behalf of the members of the late Society of Metal Workers, tendered to the Convention five dollars, the amount of their treasury at the time of their dissolution, which was accepted, and a committee appointed to acknowledge the donation.

Mr. Douglas offered the following, which was unan-

imously adopted: Resolved, that the Corresponding Secretary of this Convention be requested to communicate, in his next monthly correspondence with the different Trades Unions, the opinion of this Convention of the utility and propriety of voting for such Legislators in their States, and members of Congress only, who are known to be favorable, or will pledge themselves to advance and defend the Working Man's rights, and endeavor to remove those difficulties that now so much oppress them.

The following resolution was adopted: resolved, that there be a committee appointed from this Convention, to consist of three, to prepare a memorial, to be presented to the City Council, asking the repeal of the "Hundred Dollar Law." Committee – Messrs. Moore, Nichols, and Penn.

On motion of Mr. Moore, a committee was appointed to report (at an adjourned meeting to be held on Friday) upon the practicability of sending a delegate to the National Trades Union, to meet in Philadelphia, on the fourth Monday in October, agreeably to the request of the officers of that body. . .

Mr. Goldson offered a preamble and resolutions averse to the employment of convicts in the penitentiary in the mechanical arts, which were read and laid on the table, and the Convention adjourned to Friday evening.

Washingtonian, Oct. 13, 1836, p. 2, col. 1. Meeting of September 30.

The Convention met – roll called – five trades represented. Minutes of last meeting read, and approved.

Mr. McKean, from the committee to whom was referred the subject of appointing Delegates to the "Na-

tional Trades Union," to meet in the City of Philadelphia, on the fourth Monday of October next, made a report, recommending the sending of Delegates to represent this Convention. The report was read and adopted, and on motion of Mr. Ray, the election of Delegates was postponed until Thursday, 13th of October.

On motion of Mr. Goldson, a committee, consisting of Messrs. McKean, Douglas, and Ray, was appointed by the Convention, to confer with the Cordwainer's Delegation of Georgetown, on matters to be laid before the Convention. Mr. Russell was also added to the committee.

After some time spent in consultation, the following report was made: the Committee to confer with the Delegates of the Cordwainers of Georgetown, beg leave to report that they have held a conference with them, and that they propose to increase the price of the articles of their work to the old List of Prices, as adopted by the Cordwainers of this city, with a few exceptions, which they have increased from three and a half to six and a quarter cents, on ladies work, and on men's work the increase on one article of the old prices of this city nine cents – adopting in all other respects the old list. Your Committee therefore do not hesitate to recommend the following resolution to the Convention: resolved, that this Convention sanction the List of Prices of the Cordwainers of Georgetown, as adopted, and consider them as reasonable and just.

J. P. McKean, James Douglas, Josiah Ray,
B. B. Russell – Committee.

The report and resolution were read, and adopted, and the Convention adjourned until Thursday, the 13th of October next.

Washingtonian and *Farmers, Mechanics and Merchants Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1836, p. 2, col, 1. Meeting of October 24.

The Convention was called to order, and the roll called–five trades in attendance.

After the proceedings of the last meeting were read, a communication was laid before the Convention, from the Cordwainers of Alexandria, notifying they had formed the two Societies (Ladies and Mens' Branches) into one, and appointed, Messrs. Joseph Ford, Julius G. Swain, and Henry Tarlton, to represent the United Society in this Convention. Mr. McKean moved to lay the credentials on the table. Lost. On motion the credentials were then received. Credentials were presented, of P. Crowl, in place of John H. Newman, (Cordwainers, Georgetown) and of William Powell, in place of William Bond, (Mens Branch, Cordwainers, Washington city,) which were received, and the Delegates took their seats.

The following persons were proposed as "individual members:" by Mr. McKean–George Venable; by Mr. Nichols–Robert Coltman; by Mr. Mitchell–J. M. Keller–who were balloted for and elected. . .

The Committee appointed to draft a memorial, to be presented to the City Council, asking a change in the present qualification of Voters, and the repeal of the "Hundred Dollar Law," made a report, which was read. Mr. McGuire moved it be laid on the table. Lost. On motion the sum of "Twenty-five Dollars" was inserted in lieu of "One Hundred" and the report, as amended, agreed to. And Messrs. Moore, McKean, and Ray, were appointed to present the memorial.

Resignations were received, and accepted of–Geo. C. Grant–Bricklayers Society; Samuel Goldson–Cordwainers, Georgetown. . .

JAS. F. HALIDAY, Sec'y.

4. ALBANY

(a) ACTION OF THE SADDLERS AND HARNESS-MAKERS

National Trades' Union, Jan. 31, 1835, p. 2, col. 3.
Proceedings of a meeting of saddlers and harness-makers on January 14, 1835. Another meeting of saddlers and harness-makers, to which other trades were invited, was held on February 3, 1835.

. . . The object of the meeting was explained by the President, who in forcible terms recommended the necessity and importance of forming a Trades' Union in this city, Troy, Schenectady, and the towns in their vicinities, and proposed the reading of the Constitution and By-Laws of the "General Trades' Union of the city of New-York," and the "Address of the Hon. Ely Moore," Member of Congress elect, and President of the Union, at the Chatham Street Chapel, December 2, 1833, containing a full and satisfactory explanation of the objects and principles of the Trades' Union, and a refutation of the calumnies propagated by its enemies. The said Constitution, By-Laws, and Address were thereupon read.

RESOLVED, that the Saddlers and Harness Makers Society of Albany approve of the principles upon which the Constitution and By-Laws of the "General Trades' Union" are founded – that the Address of the Hon. Ely Moore meets our warmest approbation – his well directed talents command our highest respect, and for his exertions in behalf of the rights and interests of the mechanic, he is entitled to our lasting gratitude.

On motion of Andrew Deitz, resolved, that the members of the "Saddlers and Harness Makers Society of Albany" do hereby attach themselves to the "General

Trades' Union of New York," until a Union of the Trades' may be formed in this section of the State. . .

The following persons were appointed delegates to the Union—William Palmer, Walter Whitney, Elijah A. McChesney.

On motion of Mr. Ostrander, resolved, that Walter R. Erwin, John McMickin, and Charles W. Mink, be a Committee to wait upon Messrs. Moore, Carr, and other distinguished friends of the Trades' Union, and the officers of the mechanic associations in the city, and invite their attendance at the next meeting of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Erwin, resolved, that the 6th Art. of the By-Laws of the "General Trades' Union" in the words following, to wit—"No religious, irreligious, or partizan proposition shall be discussed," be entered on the minutes of the society, and adopted.

Mr. McAllister gave notice that at the next meeting of the Society, he would move that a Committee be appointed to draft a Constitution and By-laws. . .

WALTER R. ERWIN, President
MATTHEW OSTRANDER, Vice President
ANDREW DEITZ, Secretary.

(b) CALL FOR A CONVENTION

National Trades' Union, Feb. 21, 1835, p. 2, col. 3, 4.

CIRCULAR. SIR—At a meeting of the officers and members of the organized societies of the city of Albany, held at the Exchange Coffee House, on the 21st inst., the following resolution was adopted:

"RESOLVED, that a committee, consisting of one from each organized society, be appointed to prepare a circular to be addressed to the mechanics of the city of Albany, and its vicinity, for the purpose of consulting

MECHANICS' FREE PRESS.
A JOURNAL OF PRACTICAL AND USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.
MISCELLANY.
THE WORKING MAN'S ADVOCATE.
EDITED BY A MECHANIC.
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1829.
NATIONAL LABORER.
THE NATIONAL TRADES' UNION.
THE MECHANICS' PRESS.
THE MAN.
NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 20, 1834.
TRADES UNION
THE CO-OPERATOR.
RADICAL REFORMER
AND WORKING MAN'S ADVOCATE.
PROSPECTUS.
Liberty and Principle.
The "General Executive Committee" of the Mechanics and other Working Men, will meet at the North American Hotel, corner of Bayard street and Broadway, Wednesday evening, the 24th, instant, half past 7 o'clock.
H. G. GUION, Chairman.
A. L. BALCH, Rec. Sec'y.
SIMON CLANNON, Cor. Sec'y.
Working Man's Advocate.
NEW YORK:
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1829.
WORKING MEN'S TICKET.
ASSEMBLY.
Alexander Ming, senior, Printer.
Frederick Friend, Brass Founder.
Thomas Skidmore, Machinist.
Cornelius C. Blatchley, Physician.
Robert M. Kerrison, Whitesmith.
Alden Potter, Machinist.
Amos Williamson, Carpenter.
Ebenezer Whiting, Cooper.
Simon Clannon, Painter.
Ebenezer Ford, Carpenter.
Benjamin Mott, Grocer.
SENATE.
Silas Wood, of Suffolk.
Edward J. Webb, of New York.

Typical title-pages of Labor Papers, 1820-1840

on the propriety of forming a General Trades' Union." The Committee would, therefore, in pursuance of their instructions, recommend that a meeting of delegates be held on Wednesday, the 11th day of February next, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, at the Exchange Coffee House, South Market-street, Albany.

Your aid, therefore, is most earnestly solicited in the furtherance of the above object. The committee would respectfully, but at the same time urgently, solicit your assistance in inducing such societies as are now organized, to hold meetings, and to appoint three delegates each, to represent them in convention, at the time and place above specified.

We would also beg leave to solicit your friendly co-operation, in urging upon such mechanics as are not organized to form societies forthwith, and send delegates as above recommended.

Committee – Painters, FRANCIS MILO; Saddlers and Harness Makers, W. R. ERWIN; Taylors, A. HOOGHIRK; Coach Makers and Trimmers, H. E. BROWER; Cordwainers, E. TREYHERN; Printers, GEO. VANCE. Albany, Jan. 21, 1835.

(c) PRELIMINARY MEETING

National Trades' Union, Feb. 21, 1835, p. 2, col. 3, 4.
Proceedings of a meeting of delegates from the "mechanic associations" of Albany and its vicinity, on Feb. 11, 12, 1835, for the purpose of forming a General Trades' Union.

[February 11] . . . The meeting was organized by appointing Walter R. Erwin, Chairman, and John Hurdis, Secretary. The Chairman briefly stated the object of the meeting, after which the delegates presented their credentials.

NAMES OF DELEGATES: ALBANY – Francis Milo, John Hurdis, David C. Hawley – *Painters*; Erastus Gib-

bons, Amaziah Whitney, William Bell – *House Carpenters*; William H. Mink, William Reaves, James Nesbitt – *Ship Carpenters*; Abraham Hoogkirk, William H. Baldwin, Henry Dogherty – *Tailors*; John Strebeck, Hiram Carmichael, Enos Trayhern – *Cordwainers*; George Sanford, Daniel Van Valkenburgh, George L. Martin – *Silver Platers*; Henry Waterman, Stephen Harris, Charles Dubois – *Founders, Machinists*, and *Millwrights*; James Lonergan, Owen Madden, Henry Fitzsimmons – *Stone Masons*; Walter R. Erwin, Andrew Deitz, John M'Mikin – *Saddlers* and *Harness Makers.*

SCHENECTADY – John Stewart, John F. Brandt, Joseph Shurtleff – *Cordwainers*; William Cameron, Peter Lamb, Nathaniel Clark – *Carpenters.*

TROY – J. P. Bartlett, D. Leonard, William Donaldson – *Taylors.*

The names of the delegates were then called, and [they were] admitted unanimously to seats in the convention.

The Hon. Ely Moore, being present, was called upon to give a brief history of the rise and progress of the Trades' Unions in the city of New York, and other places, with which he kindly complied. He was followed by the Hon. Mr. Carr, with much spirit and effect.

The following resolution was offered: resolved, that a committee of one from each Society represented, be appointed to draft a Constitution and By-Laws for the General Trades' Union of the city of Albany, and its vicinity. . .

Thursday, Feb. 12. . . The committee appointed to draft a Constitution and By-Laws made their report, which was adopted by the Convention. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. The meeting being organized,

proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year, which resulted as follows: Andrew Deitz, *President*, William Cameron, *Vice-President*, Hiram Carmichael, *Recording Secretary*, Walter R. Erwin, *Corresponding Secretary*, Erastus Gibbons, *Treasurer*; *Finance Committee*—William Cameron, *Chairman*, John Streback, Joseph Shurtliff, J. P. Bartlett, Charles Dubois, George Sanford, and Abraham Hooghirk.

The following resolution was submitted, and adopted by acclamation: resolved, that the thanks of the Convention be tendered to the Hon. Messrs. Moore and Carr, for their unremitting exertions, and indefatigable zeal in promoting the best interests of mechanics.

RESOLVED, that the proceedings of this Convention be published in the *National Trades' Union*. . . The proceedings throughout exhibited the most cheering aspect to the friends of equal rights, and augurs well for the future strength and stability of the institution. The most perfect harmony and unanimity of sentiment pervaded the whole proceedings.

(d) PROCEEDINGS OF THE TRADES' UNION, 1835-1836

National Trades' Union, April 18, 1835, p. 2, col. 2.

[Albany, March 11 [3]] . . . The following persons then presented their credentials: Eli Lock, James H. Gardner, and Daniel Sweney, from the Brush Makers and Finishers' Society of Lansinburgh and Troy; John Holady, Daniel Hudson, and Peter Buchanan,

[3] *National Trades' Union*, March 14, 1835, says of this meeting: "The first society organized there [at Albany] was about the middle of January. On the 11th February, twelve societies convened and formed themselves into a Union. At the meeting now spoken of, it was expected there would be about twenty-four societies represented. . . It is highly gratifying further to learn that the utmost harmony and good feelings prevail; and there appears a general desire, and a determination to pursue measures calculated permanently to promote the interests and welfare of Mechanics."—EDS.

from the Tanners and Curriers' Society of Schenectady; John O. Comstock, from the Hatters' Society of Schenectady. The credentials were read and approved, and a Committee appointed to invite the new Delegates to take their seats. . .

RESOLVED, that the Delegates to the Trades' Union of Albany and its vicinity, take the sense of their respective Societies on the propriety of the Union procuring a suitable room for the meetings of the Trades' Union; also, the meetings of the mechanic societies attached to the Trades' Union.

[April 8] . . . On motion of Mr. Milo, of the Painters' Society, resolved that a Committee be appointed to wait on the Hon. Ely Moore, President of the Trades' Union of the city of New York, and invite him to attend the convention this evening. Resolved, that Mr. Milo, of the Painters' Society, and Mr. Whitney, of the Carpenters' Society, constitute the Committee of invitation. On motion of Mr. Whitney, resolved, unanimously, that a vote of thanks be tendered to the Hon. Ely Moore, by the Trades' Union of Albany and its vicinity, for his firm and unceasing endeavors to promote the welfare of mechanics.

On motion of Mr. Carmichael, resolved, that all reports to the convention hereafter, be made in writing. On motion of Mr. Hardes, resolved, that the first article of the By-laws be amended, and read, That the hours of meeting of this convention shall be from the 10th of October to the 10th March, at 3 o'clock, p.m., and from the 18th March, to the 10th of October, at 4 o'clock, p.m. On motion of Mr. Erwin, resolved, that it be a standing rule of this convention, that the proceedings of all the meetings hereafter, be reported to the *National Trades' Union*, by the Recording Secretary, for publication.

The Committee of invitation to wait on Mr. Moore announced their return, and that Mr. Moore accepted the invitation from the Trades' Union of Albany and its vicinity. The President instructed the Committee to conduct Mr. Moore to take a seat with him in the chair, and then informed him, that a vote of thanks had passed this convention to him, for his exertions to promote the interests of mechanics. Mr. Moore, in a brief and feeling manner, thanked his fellow mechanics of Albany and its vicinity, for the confidence they reposed in him, and for the mark of friendship tendered by the convention.

On motion of Mr. Erwin, of the Saddlers' Society, resolved, that the members of this convention appreciate the benefits rendered to the just cause of the mechanics, by the indefatigable exertions of the *National Trades' Union*, published in the city of New York. Resolved, that this convention consider the *National Trades' Union* the mechanics' devoted organ and advocate. Resolved, that the delegates of the Albany Trades' Union, will exercise their influence with their respective Societies to sustain, as far as in their power, the *National Trades' Union*, published in the city of New York, so long as it continues to support and defend the honor and just rights of the mechanics. . .

National Trades' Union, May 23, 1835, p. 2, col. 4.

[May 13] . . . A communication from the Tailors' Society of Troy was then read, appointing Jarvis Blachley as a Delegate, in place of J. P. Bartlett, resigned. A communication from the Cordwainers of Schenectady was read, appointing Jacob Waggoner as a Delegate, in place of John F. Brandt, resigned. A communication from the Cordwainers of the city of Albany, was read, appointing Frederick Remington as

a Delegate, in place of Enos Trayhern, resigned. A communication from the Machinists was read, appointing Henry Daniels as a Delegate, in place of Charles Dubois, resigned.

Peter Finnerty, Lewis Doyle, and John McKeon, as Delegates from the Operative Masons' Society of Troy, presented their credentials. The credentials were all approved, and the new Delegates invited to take their seats in the Convention.

The Special Committees being then in order: . . .

W. R. Erwin, from the Committee on an Address to the Mechanics of Albany and its vicinity, pertaining to the contemplated General Meeting, reported, that the Committee wished the Convention to appoint the time of calling the same, to be governed thereby; and that the Committee would report at the next Meeting, and lay the Address before the Convention, for adoption and signatures of the members. . .

The Corresponding Secretary read a communication from the Corresponding Secretary of the Tr. Union of New York, stating that the following resolution had been adopted: resolved, that this Convention view with pride the successful efforts of our fellow-mechanics of Albany and its vicinity, to establish a Trades' Union Association, and congratulate them on the apparent unanimity existing among them. The resolution was adopted.

On motion of H. Carmichal, of the Cordwainers' Society – resolved, that the third Monday of June be the day for a general meeting of Mechanics in the city of Albany. On motion of the Vice President – resolved, that the contemplated meeting be at the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon.

On motion of F. Milo – resolved, that a committee

of Arrangement be appointed, consisting of nine members – when A. Whitney, of the Carpenters' Society, A. Houghkirk, of the Tailors' Society, G. L. Martin, of the Silver-Platers' Society, F. Remington, of the Cordwainers' Society, John Hurdis, of the Painters' Society, John McMickin, of the Saddlers' Society, H. Daniels, of the Machinists' Society, all of Albany; E. Lock, of the Brush-makers' Society, Lansingburgh and Troy; and P. Finnerty, of the Operative Masons' Society, Troy, were appointed.

On motion of F. Milo – resolved, that a Committee of five be appointed, to inform the Hon. Ely Moore, that this convention consider that the cause of mechanics would be much benefitted by his addressing them on Monday, 15th June. Resolved, that the same Committee invite the Hon. Ely Moore, the Delegates of the Trades' Union of New York, and others friendly to the interests of the Mechanics, to join the Mechanics of Albany and its vicinity on Monday, 15th June. Resolved, also, that the same Committee make application to the Trades' Union of New York, for the Banners of the Union – inasmuch as it would have a beneficial effect, and also accommodate the Tr. Union of Albany and its vicinity on that day. The following members constitute said Committee: W. R. Erwin, F. Milo, A. Whitney, G. Sanford, and H. Carmichal.

On motion of Mr. Whitney – resolved, that a Committee of three be appointed, to investigate the apparent errors in the By-Laws and Constitution, relative to Delegates from out of the city, and report at the next meeting of the Convention. The following members constitute said Committee: Andrew Dietz, Walter R. Erwin, and Henry Dougherty. Adjourned.

National Trades' Union, June 20, 1835, p. 2, col. 3.

[June 10] . . . On motion of F. Milo, resolved, that the Convention suspend the rules of order for the report of the Corresponding Secretary, relative to the contemplated celebration the 15th inst. A communication was then read from Ely Moore, Esq. stating that it was with regret his health will not permit him to address the Mechanics of Albany and its vicinity on the 15th inst.; also a communication from the Corresponding Secretary of the General Trades Union of New York, informing them that the banner of the Trades' Union of that city, agreeable to request, might be loaned for our coming celebration, and that Mr. David Scott, Vice President, intends visiting Albany and take charge of it; also, that the invitation to attend our celebration has been accepted by the Convention of New York.

The Corresponding Secretary stated to the Convention that on the receipt of Mr. Moore's letter the committees of arrangement and of invitation, met and concluded to postpone the celebration, indefinitely, of which he advised the General Trades' Union of New York. The Committees then reported, which was accepted, and the postponement approved by the Convention. After some remarks, the committees requested to be discharged; their request was, on a motion, granted, and they discharged.

The Convention then resumed the rules of order.

A Communication from the Painters' Union Society of Troy was then read, appointing Geo. T. Gillespie a delegate. A communication from the Silver Platers' Society of Albany, appointing Madison Vinchell a delegate in place of Geo. L. Martin, resigned. The credentials were approved, and the new delegates invited to take their seats in the Convention.

The Committee on procuring a room suitable for the accommodation of the Union and the meetings of the different Associations attached to the Trades Union of Albany and its vicinity—Amaziah Whitney from the same, reported, that the Common Council of Albany had granted for the use of the Trades' Union of Albany and its vicinity, a room in the city Hall which the committee accepted, and recommended the same as a suitable place for the accommodation of the Union and the society attached to it. On motion, it was resolved, that the report of the room Committee be accepted, and the room procured in the City Hall, be approved of by the Convention. Resolved, that a vote of thanks be tendered by this Convention to the Common Council for their kindness in granting a room in the City Hall for the accommodation of the Trades' Union, and that the same be entered on the minutes of this meeting.

The Committee appointed last meeting to investigate the apparent errors in the By-laws and Constitution relative to Delegates from out of the city—Walter R. Erwin from the same, reported, that the 12th article of the By-laws be expunged, which was adopted. . .

On motion of H. Carmichael, resolved, that the Finance Committee be authorized to procure printed notices and receipts. . .

On motion of H. Carmichael, resolved, that a Committee of three be appointed with power to have the room in the City Hall furnished in proper order for the next meeting of the Convention. A. Whitney, H. Carmichael, and W. Gibbons, were accordingly appointed said Committee. Adjourned.

National Trades' Union, July 25, 1835, p. 3, col. 3, 4. Meetings of July 8, 13.

[July 8] . . . A communication from the Cab-

inet-makers of the city of Troy was read, stating the appointment of James Taylor, Robert Kibbe, and James Reyan, as their delegates. A communication from the Painters of the city of Troy, was then read, appointing Samuel S. Tracey and Joseph E. Wilson, as delegates. A communication from the Hatters of Schenectady, appointing Daniel A. Force in place of J. O. Comstock, resigned; and also the appointment of Alexander Dunn, as delegates. And a communication from the Tailors of Albany, appointing John Kling in the place of A. Houghkirk, resigned. The credentials were all approved; and on motion, the delegates were invited to take their seats in the Convention.

The committee appointed last meeting, with power to furnish the room in the City Hall, made their report, which was, on motion, accepted. On motion of H. Carmichael – resolved, that the committee present the bill of expenses to the Finance Committee, and have power to draw on the Treasurer for the amount. . .

On motion of W. R. Erwin – resolved, that the Finance Committee lay before the Convention at their next regular meeting, a statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Trades' Union of Albany and vicinity from its organization up to this day.

On motion of H. Carmichael – resolved, that a committee of one from each delegation representing the societies in the city of Albany in this Convention, be appointed to regulate their monthly meetings, so as not to interfere with each other or the meetings of the Convention, and that the same meet on Monday, the 13th, and report next meeting. The following compose the committee: Francis Milo, John McMikin, A. Whitney, Geo. Sanford, H. Carmichael, John Kling, Henry Daniels, and Henry Fitzsimmons.

On motion – resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to attend and see that the books of the Convention are regularly and correctly kept. On which, Walter R. Erwin, Henry Fitzsimmons, and John Strebeck, were appointed said committee.

On motion of W. R. Erwin – resolved, that this Convention view with pride the success attending the efforts of our fellow mechanics of the city of Troy, and of Lansingburgh, in the organization of Societies. There are now five from them, represented in Convention. We commend their zeal in the good cause, and congratulate them on their favorable prospects of additional strength.

Mr. Erwin also gave notice, that he would, at the next monthly meeting of the Convention, lay before them for consideration a proposition for the establishment of a mechanics' library and hall of resort, in the city of Albany, with a plan for the accomplishment of so laudable an institution.

After which, Mr. Daniel A. Force, from the Hatters' Society of Schenectady, addressed the Convention, and stated, in strong and feeling language, the sufferings of Journeymen Hatters in Schenectady. He said, that at the present prices, they have to work twelve hours a day, and cannot average more than eighty cents; that they made out a list of prices, and presented them to their employers, who, in place of consenting to raise them, contemptuously said, they were determined to reduce them. Under such circumstances, the Society considered it justifiable to strike on their own responsibility, until they had an opportunity to lay their wrongs before the Convention. On motion – resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the delegates from the Hatters' Society. The following per-

sons were appointed by open nomination: Walter R. Erwin, Frederick Remington, and H. Carmichael. . .

[July 13] . . . The Corresponding Secretary explained the call of the meeting, by stating, that at the last meeting of the Convention, held on Wednesday, July 8th, in their room, No. 19 City Hall, the delegates from the Hatters Society of Schenectady, reported, that they were compelled to strike for higher wages on their own responsibility, until they had an opportunity of laying their wrongs before the Convention. A committee of three was then appointed to confer with the delegates from the Hatters' Society, with power to request (if necessary) a special meeting of the Convention to be called.

Mr. Erwin, from the committee of conference, said, that the Hatters of Schenectady were laboring under the most aggravating oppression that tyranny could exercise. Their Employers, with a spirit of the basest cast, and insolent defiance, dared them to strike, under the penalty of starving them into submission, and compliance with their (the Employers') terms – terms disgraceful and cruel; and with contemptuous impudence, divested, as they have proved themselves to be, of the sacred principles of humanity, honor, and justice, they ask, "Where is their Great Stand-by, the Trades' Union?" The Hatters of Schenectady, at the present prices, and work 12 hours, cannot average more than eighty cents per day. The list of prices now made out by the Society, do not, and work 12 hours, enable them to make more than from 10 to 12 shillings per day. This bill of prices the Employers will not consent to, but have made out a list of prices to suit themselves – even lower than they formerly gave! The committee are of a confirmed opinion, that the Hatters of Sche-

nectady are oppressed in the extreme, and therefore recommend the immediate action of the Convention in their behalf. On motion – resolved, that the report of the committee of conference be accepted.

Mr. Milo said, he had some doubts, agreeable to the 14th article of the Constitution, that the Convention could sanction the strike of the Hatters. A long and interesting debate followed, in which several of the members took part. After which, on motion – resolved, that this Convention approve the strike of the Hatters of Schenectady.

On motion of John McMicken – resolved, that the delegates of this Convention represent the grievances of the Hatters to their respective Societies, and recommend the same to sustain them on their strike, until such time they obtain their bill of prices approved by this Convention. On motion of Fred'k Remington – resolved, that the members of the Hatters' Society now on the strike, receive, viz: men of family, $4 per week; single men, $3. On motion of H. Carmichael – resolved, that should the Hatters' Society increase in number, or an addition to the number on strike, notice shall be given to the Treasurer of this Convention, signed by the President and Secretary of their Society. On motion of John Strebeck – resolved, that the members of the Hatters' Society on the strike, receive an order on the Treasurer, one week in advance, for the amount agreed to by this Convention.

The Vice President resigned the chair to Mr. Strebeck. Mr. Cameron then addressed the Convention at some length, in the course of which, he gave his construction of the 14th article of the Constitution, on strikes; and concluded, that the vote of the Convention was in accordance with his opinion, by approving the

strike of the Hatters' Society. The Vice President resumed the chair.

On motion of W. R. Erwin – resolved, that the Recording Secretary give notice to the Finance Committee to hold a special meeting on Monday, July the 20th inst., for the purpose of arranging their accounts – and report at the next regular meeting of the Convention.

No other business coming before the Convention, the Vice President resigned the chair to Mr. Milo, and addressed the Convention the second time. He stated, that a Trades' Union in Schenectady, as an auxiliary to the Albany Trades' Union, would be the greatest benefit to the cause of mechanics in this part of the State, and be additional strength to our ranks. He said, there are several trades in Schenectady, that could form societies of from ten to twenty, and upwards, members each; and would be glad to join the Trades' Union, but their numbers will not warrant them to incur the expense and loss of time, by sending delegates to attend the monthly and special meetings at Albany. . . He concluded that the prospects were favorable to a Trades' Union in Schenectady, and wished the advice of the Convention on the propriety of establishing a Union in that city, as auxiliary to the Albany Union. . .

On motion, also, resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the Schenectady delegation, on the propriety of establishing a union of trades in that city. The following persons were appointed by open nomination: viz. W. R. Erwin, A. Whitney, and John Strebeck. The committee then withdrew, to confer with the delegates; and, after a short absence, returned, and made the following report:

Your committee do highly approve of the mechanics of the city of Schenectady forming themselves into a

Trades' Union, as an auxiliary to the Union of Albany. Therefore we offer the following resolutions: resolved, that this Convention is highly gratified that the mechanics of Schenectady are about establishing a Trades' Union: resolved, that the measure meets our warmest approbation, and calls for every exertion on the part of the members of the Albany Union, to forward the great object in view, of encouraging the organization of Societies and Unions in every town and city of the State. The resolutions were adopted, and the Convention adjourned.

National Trades' Union, Aug. 22, 1835, p. 3, col. 1, 2.

[August 12] . . . A communication from the Silver Platers of Albany was read, appointing Edward A. Schermerhorn as a delegate, in place of Daniel Van Valkenburgh, resigned. A communication from the Saddlers of Albany, appointing John B. Townsend as delegate, in place of Andrew Deitz, resigned. A communication from the Cordwainers of Albany, appointing Henry Evens as delegate, in place of Hiram Carmichael, resigned. A communication from the Coppersmiths of Troy, appointing James Hyatt, Austin S. Wells, and Geo. P. Watts, as their delegates. A communication from the Taylors of Troy, appointing H. M. Wells as delegate, in place of Jarvis Blatchley, resigned. A communication from the Painters of Troy, appointing Elberidge Wellington as delegate, in place of Geo. Gillespie, resigned. The credentials were all approved; and on motion, the delegates were invited to take their seats in the Convention.

W. R. Erwin then offered Andrew Deitz' resignation as President, which was accepted. . . Elections for officers to fill vacancies being then in order, Henry

Evens, Geo. Sanford and John McMickin, were appointed inspectors. The election resulted in favor of W. R. Erwin, for President, and Francis Milo, Vice President. W. R. Erwin offered his resignation as Corresponding Secretary: W. H. Baldwin offered his resignation, as Recording Secretary: when on motion, the resignations were both accepted. The Convention then proceeded to the election of Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, which resulted in favor of Edward A. Schermerhorn, as Recording Secretary, and John B. Townsend, as Corresponding Secretary.

On motion of —— Fellilo, resolved, that this Convention highly approve of the stand which the House Wrights of Boston have taken, in endeavoring to obtain the Ten Hour System, and that the mechanics of Albany and vicinity will use all honorable means to sustain them in their undertaking. . .

National Trades' Union, Sept. 19, 1835, p. 2, col. 3, 4.

[September 9] . . . Communications were received from the following Societies: from the Journeymen Cordwainers of Troy, appointing Cyrus Warren, Julius Moulton, and William McKay, delegates to represent them in the General Trades' Union of Albany. Journeymen Coach-makers of Troy, appointing Abram Schryver, Jones Frink, and Cortland C. Cook, as their delegates. Brush-makers and Finishers' Society of Lansingburgh and Troy, appointing Malachi W. Brown, William Bradshaw, and Thomas Mount, in place of Eli Locke, James H. Gardner, and Daniel Sweeney, resigned. Painters' Society of Troy, appointing Alonzo Crandall their delegate, in place of Samuel S. Tracy, resigned. The credentials were all approved, and the delegates conducted to their respective seats in the convention.

The President then stated, that there would be a National Convention held in New York, on Thursday, Oct. 1, 1835, and that each Society connected with this Union be and are hereby directed to send one delegate from their body, to represent them in said convention, and that their respective Societies defray the expense of said delegate. . .

The Committee on claims of the Schenectady Hatters' Society, reported as follows, (Mr. Hurdis being called to the chair):

Your Committee appointed at the last meeting of the convention, to proceed to Schenectady, for the purpose of investigating the Hatters' claims on the Union for support while on strike, and make all necessary enquiry of the Employers, and others of the trade, to enable them (the Committee) to conclude whether the delegates from the Hatters' Society represented the circumstances that caused the Hatters to strike, was founded on facts supported by truth:

Your Committee, therefore, report, that as far as lay in their power, they discharged the duty they were requested to perform, with impartiality, doing justice to the parties concerned, without favor or affection towards one or the other—keeping in view only the just rights of each, and at the same time protect the honor of our Trades' Union from imposition and undeserved rebuke.

Your Committee, after a minute examination of Employers' books, information from all others of the trade in Schenectady, with the confirmed opinion of many respectable mechanics, they are fully satisfied that Daniel A. Force, Alexander Dunn, and Benedict A. Meigs, made a false representation to the Committee of Conference, whereby the Convention was induced to sanc-

tion their strike, and grant them the weekly provision of the Union in such cases allowed.

Your Committee, therefore, beg leave to recommend that the President, Secretary, and Delegates of the Hatters' Society of Schenectady, receive a vote of censure – the two former, for sanctioning, by their signatures, certificates not founded on truth or justice; and the latter, for reporting falsely, and receiving money unworthily from the Union, by which they have wounded the feelings of numbers of their fellow journeymen Hatters, who request your Committee to state to the Convention, that the Hatters of Schenectady were not fully or fairly represented, and beg they may be exonerated from any connection with the dishonorable acts of others. They also protest against the proceedings of the delegates from the Hatters' Society, and reprobate their conduct, inasmuch as they were drawing from the funds of the Union money unworthily, when they could get plenty of employment, and make on an average from 10 to 12 and 14 shillings per day and work 11 hours; also, their representation to the Convention, that they had to work 12 hours to make 80 cents, was false, and tantamount to an insult to Hatters, and a libel on their Employers – even take the worst branch of the trade.

Your Committee with pleasure inform the Convention, that they were treated with politeness by the Employers of the Hatters of Schenectady; and the information obtained from them was fully corroborated by the Journeymen – with the exception of four, two of whom were on strike, one of the others a Secretary of the Society, and the other we were informed was the Treasurer.

Therefore, resolved, that the Convention be recommended to give notice to the Treasurer of the Trades'

Union of Albany and its vicinity, not to cash any orders presented to him by any of the delegates of said Society, unless signed by the Chairman of the Finance Committee of said Union.

WALTER R. ERWIN, FRANCIS MILO,
JOSEPH SHURTLEFF – Committee.

The report was accepted, and the President resumed the chair.

After the reading of the above report, the delegate from the Hatters' Society of Schenectady requested the dues paid in by their Society this evening to be refunded to them. On motion of Mr. Milo, his request was granted, and the money returned.

A letter was received per favor of Mr. Boggs, from the Hatters of Philadelphia, respecting those of Schenectady, which had been directed (enveloped) to the President of the Trades' Union of New York, and then forwarded to Albany, which was read in the Convention. Mr. Boggs being present, he stated how and for what reason the letter was presented to this Convention. Mr. Dunn, of the Schenectady Hatters' Society, addressed the Convention at some length, when on motion of Mr. Whitney, the subject was laid open for debate, which was long and interesting, and in which several members took part.

The Corresponding Secretary reported and read a letter of invitation from the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements of the Trades' Union of N. York, which with deep regret we state, came too late for the Convention to act upon in time for the celebration of said Union. On motion of Mr. A. Whitney, resolved, that the letter be accepted, and the thanks of this Convention be returned through the Corresponding Secretary.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. F. Rem-

ington: resolved, that this Convention elect the delegates to represent the Trades' Union of Albany and its vicinity in the National Convention to be holden in N. York, on Thursday, October 1st, 1835. The Convention then went into a nomination for delegates – and Walter R. Erwin, Francis Milo, Frederick Remington, Amaziah Whitney, James Taylor, and Henry Evens, were nominated as candidates for election; and upon counting the ballots, Messrs. Erwin, Milo, and Taylor, were duly elected.

Nominations were then made to fill vacancies in the Finance Committee. Mr. Bell and Mr. Whitney were nominated. The election resulted in favor of Mr. Bell.

The following resolutions were offered and accepted.

By Mr. A. Whitney. That a copy of the report of the Hatters' claims of Schenectady, by the Committee of Investigation, be furnished the Trades' Union of that place.

By Mr. John Hurdis. That the Corresponding Secretary be and he is hereby directed to subscribe for a copy of the *National Trades' Union*, in the name and for the use of this Convention.

By Mr. Francis Milo. That the delegates from the different Societies out of this city be instructed by this Convention to request their respective Societies to pay whatever they may think proper towards defraying the contingent expenses of this Union.

By Mr. F. Remington. That the expenses of the delegates elected this evening to the National Convention, be paid by this Union. . .

National Trades' Union, Oct. 3, 1835, p. 2, col. 4.

[September 23] . . . Credentials were received from the Cordwainers of Albany, appointing William Le Lacheure as delegate, in place of John Strebeck, resigned; also from the Stone-masons of Albany, appointing John O'Brien as delegate, in the place of Peter Fitzpatrick, resigned. On motion, the credentials were approved, and the delegates above-named were invited to take their seats in the convention.

Mr. Whitney was called to the chair, when the object of the meeting was stated, and a letter was read from the Corresponding Secretary of the Nat. Trades' Union, which was accepted. A letter was received from the Hon. Ely Moore, which was read and accepted – when on motion, resolved, that the same committee answer the letter, and present to him the thanks of the convention.

Also, a letter was received by the Corresponding Secretary, from the Cordwainers of Schenectady, stating that they had presented their bill of prices to the employers, who refused to sanction it at the time, but have since granted their just demands.

The President resumed the chair. On motion, resolved, that a list of the regular nights of meeting of the different Societies be made out by the Secretary, and a copy handed to each Society. . .

Mr. Bell was called to the chair, when a long and very warm debate arose concerning the delegates elect to the National Convention – which was finally settled. The President again resumed the chair.

On motion of Mr. Francis Milo, resolved, that every mechanic and artisan who now or may hereafter belong to the Albany Trades' Union, is by this resolution requested to invite such members of their respective Societies to a seat in this convention, as may think proper to attend, whenever it shall meet for the transaction

of business: provided always, that none be allowed to speak or vote upon any question except the delegates composing the convention.

On motion of Mr. F. Remington, resolved, that each Society give in the names of their delegates elect to the National Convention. . .

National Trades' Union, Oct, 24, 1835, p. 2, col. 2.

[October 14] . . . Credentials were received from the following societies: Coach and Chaise Makers of Albany, appointing Elias Vanderlip, Nicholas Efner, and Abram Efner, delegates to represent them in this Convention. Coopers' Society of Albany, appointing David Thomas, David Moore, and James Byrne, delegates. Saddle and Harness Makers of Albany, appointing James Smith in place of John McMicken, resigned. Brush Makers and Finishers, of Lansingburgh and Troy, appointing James Bradshaw in place of Thomas J. Mount, expelled.

On motion, it was carried, that the proceedings of the National Trades' Union be read. After reading the said proceedings they were unanimously approved of by this Convention. . .

Corresponding Secretary's Report, read and accepted, with the following resolution, by D. E. Hawley. Resolved, that we tender our warmest thanks to Mr. Seth Luther for the sentiments expressed in his communication; also, for the Boston Circular and Plate of the Bunker Hill Monument, presented by him to this Union. . .

By W. Le Lacheur – resolved, that a committee of three be appointed and invested with power from this Union, to procure a stove and fire wood, for the benefit and use of the several societies who belong to this

Union and meet in this room, and that each society pay their equal portion of the expenses arising therefrom. The committee appointed were Messrs. Le Lacheur, Daniels, and Whitney.

The delegates to the National Convention presented bills, which were passed for payment. A motion was then carried that the Schenectady Hatters have leave to withdraw from this Union. . .

National Trades' Union, Dec. 19, 1835, p. 2, col. 2.

[December 9] . . . Credentials were received from the Cordwainers of Troy, appointing Abel P. West and William Congdon as delegates in place of Julius P. Moulton resigned, and Cyrus Warren deceased. From the Union Journeymen Tailors of Albany, appointing P. V. Watson in place of Chas. Putnam, resigned. The credentials were approved, and the delegates invited to take seats in the convention. . .

A copy of a set of resolutions, adopted by the coach makers of Troy, was received and referred to a committee of conference to report at the next meeting, as the best course to pursue in relation to their grievances. Mr. E. Vanderlip from the Coach-makers of Albany rose and stated to the convention what had called forth the resolutions adopted by the Coach makers society of the city of Troy. He stated from good authority that it was the intention of some of the employers to break down the Trades' Union, by employing an unlimited number of half-way journeymen and apprentices, and that by so doing they would have it in their power to crush the regular journeymen, and that it was also their intention, (by combination) to break down the ten hour system in their establishments; thus rendering it impossible for the honest mechanic to devote any time to

impart either moral or social instruction to his young and helpless family. . .

Mr. Whitney called up his amendment of the 2d article of the constitution for action, which elicited a warm and very lengthy discussion, when an additional amendment by Mr. Daniels was adopted, as follows: Every society numbering twenty-five or less to send 3 delegates, every society numbering fifty to send 4 dele gates, and in the same ratio of twenty-five members to send one additional delegate. A division of the house was then called upon the question, and it was found not sufficient to decide upon the amendment, when a motion of adjournment prevailed.

National Trades' Union, Jan. 23, 1836, p. 2, col. 2.

[January 13] . . . Credentials were received from the Painters Society of Albany, appointing Benj. Babcock as delegate in place of F. Milo, resigned. From the united society of journeymen Cordwainers of the city of Hudson, returning Robert B. Lawton and William H. Traver, for the ensuing year. From the Journeymen Chair Makers of Troy, returning Willard Parnell, Alexander Kemp, and Jacob Ondekirk, for the ensuing year. The credentials were approved, and the delegates invited to take their seats in the Convention.

The Committee to whom had been referred the resolutions of the Coach Makers of Troy made the following report: The resolutions adopted Nov. 6th, 1835, by the coach makers of Troy, and laid before the Albany Trades Union on the 9th Dec. last, are considered by your committee to be of the greatest importance to that and all other societies in Troy and its vicinity, as the employers of different trades daily threaten to break down

the different societies by employing under journeymen and apprentices. Therefore, your committee deem it proper for this convention to sanction the resolutions adopted by the coach makers of Troy, and also recommend that they will use all honorable means in their power to promote the rights of the regular journeymen against the aristocratic attacks of their oppressive employers. The report was, on motion, accepted and ordered with a copy of the resolutions to be published. The following is a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Coach Makers Society of the city of Troy:

Whereas, the society of Journeymen Coach Makers of the city of Troy, do consider it their duty to devise some plan to guard the interest of regular journeymen against the influence which an employer may exercise by employing an undue proportion of men under instruction and apprentices to that of the regular journeymen. Therefore, resolved, that we, the members of this society, will not instruct or aid in instructing any irregular journeyman in any of the branches attached to the trade. Resolved, that we will not instruct or aid and assist in instructing any number of apprentices taken after this date, over a proportion of one to every four regular journeymen in any of the branches attached to the coach making business. Resolved, that the substance of the above resolutions be attached to the by-laws of this society. Resolved, that our delegate to the Union of Albany, be instructed to communicate to the convention the resolutions adopted by this society. . .

The unfinished business of the last meeting, viz. the amendment of the 2d article of the Constitution, was again called up, when after a long and interesting discussion, it was decided by the President to be lost. . .

Resolutions read and adopted: by Abel P. West, resolved, that all societies now in arrears to this Convention shall cancel the same on or before the next regular meeting; and that the corresponding Secretary inform the Secretaries of the different societies composing this

Union, of the above resolution. By John Hurdis, resolved, that the communication from the Editors of the *National Trades' Union*, be referred to a Special Committee with power to obtain subscribers for the same, and report at the next meeting of the convention. The following compose the committee: Abel P. West, Daniel Wellington and Wm. Congdon of Troy, Elias Vanderlip, Fred. T. Remington, John Hurdis and Wm. Bell of Albany. . .

National Trades' Union, Feb. 20, 1836, p. 2, col. 2.

[February 10] . . . Credentials were received from the following Societies of Albany, appointing delegates for the ensuing year: Painters – David E. Hawley, Benj. Babcock, and John Hurdis. Saddlers – Walter R. Erwin, James Smith, and Elijah McCherney. Carpenters – D. F. Holdrige, P. G. Sharp, and E. E. Platt. Silver Platers – E. A. Schermerhorn, N. B. Walker, and M. Winchell. Coopers – Lyman Crowell. Cordwainers – F. T. Remington and John Adams. Coach Makers – Charles Gowie. Tailors – H. Dougherty and P. V. Watson. Founders and Machinists – John Miller, William McCammon, and H. Daniels. . .

The Convention then went into a recess for the purpose of nominating suitable candidates for officers of this Union for the ensuing year; before entering into the nomination, the President, W. R. Erwin, made a few appropriate remarks, declining a nomination for reelection. The time of recess having expired, the Convention proceeded to ballot, when the following persons were found to be elected for the ensuing year: For *President*, Erastus E. Platt; *Vice President*, Henry Daniels; *Recording Secretary*, Ed. A. Schermerhorn; *Corresponding Secretary*, Fred T. Remington; *Treas-*

urer, David E. Hawley; *Finance Committee*, P. G. Sharp, Elias Vanderlip, H. Dougherty, James Smith, H. Daniels, A. Schriver, B. Babcock. . .

On motion, a Special Committee was appointed to examine the books of the Finance Committee, and hand them to the Committee elect, for them to report at the next regular meeting. Committee – Messrs. Hurdis, McChesney, and Daniels.

The following resolutions were adopted:

By E. A. Schermerhorn. Resolved, that a Committee of three be appointed to revise the Constitution and By-Laws of this Union, and report the same at the next regular meeting for approval. The following Committee was appointed: Messrs. Schermerhorn, Erwin, and Hawley.

By W. R. Erwin. Resolved, that the Finance Committee consist of one member from each Society herein represented, and that they be appointed by their respective Societies. Referred to the Committee on Constitution and Bye Laws.

By John Adams. Resolved, that the Delegates of the different Societies that compose this Union enquire the names of Employers who pay the bill of wages that their respective Societies demand, and report the same with their place of residence at the next regular meeting of the Convention.

By W. R. Erwin. Resolved, that we highly approve of the stand the Journeymen Book-binders of Philadelphia have taken to maintain their just rights, and that our Corresponding Secretary correspond with the above society, tendering our assistance to them if needed. Adjourned.

National Trades' Union, March 5, 1836, p. 2, col. 4.

[February 29] . . . Credentials were received from the Cordwainers' Society, appointing George Evans a delegate for the ensuing year. From the Union Journeymen Tailors, appointing Peter Dolan for the ensuing year. The credentials were approved, and the delegates invited to take seats in the Convention.

The Corresponding Secretary read two communications from the Journeymen Bookbinders' Society of Philadelphia, which were accepted, and on motion of Mr. J. Adams, it was resolved, that this Union appropriate fifty dollars for the use of the Journeymen Bookbinders' Society of Philadelphia, to assist them in their just stand against their oppressive employers.

A communication was also read from the General Trades' Union of New-York, with a report and prospectus of a daily paper, proposed to be established in that city, which was accepted, and laid over for action until the next regular meeting. Communications from the Journeymen Coach-makers of Troy were also read, accepted, and laid on the table till the next regular meeting.

On motion, a Committee of three was appointed to wait upon the Treasurer for the amount of money, ($50) and forward the same forthwith to the Journeymen Bookbinders of Philadelphia. Committee, Messrs. Remington, Erwin, and McChesney. . .

National Trades' Union, March 19, 1836, p. 2, col. 3, 4.

[March 9] . . . Credentials were received from the Cordwainers' Society of Troy, returning Wm. Congdon, Henry Brazie, and Rosevelt Baldwin, their delegates for the ensuing year. From the Brushmakers and Finishers of Lansingburgh, returning George T.

Gillespie, Charles J. Silance, and James McKenny, for the ensuing year. The credentials were approved, and the delegates were invited to take their seats in the convention.

REPORTS OF SPECIAL COMMITTEES: Committee on wood, accepted. Committee on constitution and bye-laws, deferred till next regular meeting. Committee to forward aid to the book-binders of Phila., accepted. Report on list of employers who pay the regular wages, deferred till next regular meeting. The committee appointed to investigate the books of this Union, made a feeble report, with a request to be discharged from further duty, which was accepted; but after a short discussion, the vote was re-considered, and the same committee directed to proceed to Mr. Gibbons, the ex-treasurer, and require of him the books and funds belonging to the Union, which, as was stated by Henry Daniels, still remained in his hands. Mr. Daniels, as one of that committee, refused to act, when Mr. John Adams was appointed to fill the vacancy. The committee then proceeded to fulfill their duty. . .

A recess of ten minutes was granted for the settlement of the financial affairs of the convention. The recess having expired, the committee to wait upon the ex-treasurer having returned, made the following report: That, having called upon Mr. Gibbons, he handed to them the books and papers belonging to the Union, and also stated that he had paid the money belonging to the Union, over to Henry Daniels, and had his receipt for the same. They then enquired of Mr. Daniels concerning the funds, and he answered them by stating, that they (the committee) had no authority over him, and that he would not inform them where the mon-

ey was. On motion, a farther committee of seven was appointed, to wait upon Messrs. Gibbons and Daniels, for the aforesaid funds. Messrs. Remington, McChesney, Adams, Evans, Dougherty, Congdon, and Dolan, were appointed said committee, who immediately proceeded on their duty.

In the interim, the financial committee made a report, which was accepted. Also a communication from the New York Trades' Union, respecting the Union journeymen tailors of that city, was read, and a committee of three appointed to draft resolutions, expressive of our feelings: Messrs. Hawley, McCamman, and Baldwin. They having retired, shortly returned with the following resolutions, which were adopted: resolved, that we highly approve of the noble and manly stand taken by the Union journeymen tailors of the city of New York, against the oppressive measures of the self-styled masters, as we recognize in the proceedings of the said masters, the withering hand of oppression. Resolved, that the Union of journeymen tailors of the city of New York, not being members of the Trades' Union, and we, as a convention, not authorized by any article in the constitution to assist them by any pecuniary means, do most cheerfully recommend them to the society of journeymen tailors of this city, and all other societies of journeymen mechanics to assist them in their noble and praiseworthy stand against oppression and tyranny.

Mr. Sharp, from the Carpenters' Society, stated to the convention that it was the intention of the journeymen to raise their wages one shilling per day, in advance of the last season, so as to enable them to sustain their families, inasmuch as the high price of house rent and provisions loudly call for this small advance. On

motion of Mr. Vanderlip, that this convention do highly approve of the just and equitable advance in their wages. . .

The committee of seven having returned, made a report of having received a note from Mr. Daniels, payable on demand, for the amount of monies belonging to this Union. Accepted.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from the book-binders of Philadelphia, which was accepted, and the above committee of seven directed to attend to the same; and on motion, it was carried, that a receipt from the above committee be sufficient to guarantee to the Treasurer, for the amount of money he may pay to them for the use of the book-binders of Philadelphia. . .

The report and prospectus of the daily paper, to be established in New York, was then taken up, and referred to the different societies attached to this Union, and that they report at the next regular meeting of the convention.

The coach-makers of Troy had leave to withdraw from the Union, having attached themselves to a Trades' Union in the city of Troy. . .

On motion, it was resolved, that Henry Daniels be expelled from this convention, for conduct relative to the monies belonging to this Union.

The cordwainers of Troy presented a copy of a list of prices, which they intended to present to their employers, which was, on motion, sanctioned by the convention.

The convention then proceeded to an election for Vice President, in place of H. Daniels, expelled; when, upon counting the ballots, Mr. John Adams was declared to be duly elected.

National Laborer, Nov. 22, 1836, p. 123, col. 4.

[October 13] . . . Credentials from Coopers' and Painters' Societies of Albany, and Brush Makers' and Finishers' Society of Lansingburgh, returning delegates to this Union, were presented and accepted. . .

On motion of Mr. A. Whitney, the following resolutions were passed: resolved, that the Corresponding Secretary correspond with the different Unions in the United States. Resolved, that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *National Laborer* at Philadelphia, and New York *State Journal* at Troy.

National Laborer, Dec. 24, 1836, p. 159, col. 3. Meeting of December 14.

[December 14] . . . A communication from the Journeymen Cordwainers' Society of Utica, was received by the convention, requesting that said Society might be attached to the Albany Union, and stating that said Society numbered forty-five members, and that the following persons were duly elected Delegates to represent said Society, when admitted to the Albany Union, viz: H. Jennison, A. M. Warner, Benjamin Banker, and James Carran. . . On motion, the above communication was accepted by the Convention, and the Society unanimously admitted, and their Delegate present, H. Jennison invited to take his seat in the Convention.

On motion, a Committee of three were appointed to investigate the State Prison System and report at the next Meeting of the Convention. Mr. A. E. Schermerhorn, Wm. Boggart, and A. Whitney, were appointed said committee. On motion, the said committee were requested and instructed to investigate the co-operative system and report at the same time. . .

N.B. The number of Societies composing the Albany Union are thirteen.

5. NEWARK

Proceedings of meetings of the Newark Trades' Union held between March 17, 1835, and July 19, 1836. "Reported for the *National Trades' Union.*"

National Trades' Union, March 28, 1835, p. 2, col. 4.

[March 17] . . . The following persons then presented their credentials: From the Union Benevolent Society of Cordwainers – Johnson Smith, Geo. Smith, John Howard, Asa Scribner. From the Ladies' Shoe and Men's Pump makers' Society – John H. Baker, H. S. Schenck, John M. Caffrey, Noah Hudson, Nathaniel H. Green, Abraham Clark, Geo. Rowland. From the Boot Fitters' Society – Thos. Stroud, John McKeeven. From the Patterson Society of Cordwainers – Wm. Mastens. From the Hatters' Society – Samuel W. Frost, Aaron P. Ball, Edward B. Baldwin.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of officers for the following six months: when John Howard was duly elected President; Abraham Clark, Vice President; Philip Wilson, Recording Secretary; H. S. Schenck, Corresponding Secretary; and Lewis Lyon, Treasurer. . .

The Report of the Finance Committee was then handed in, which shows a balance in their hands, of one hundred and fifty-five dollars. The Report was accepted. The Report of the Treasurer was also handed in and accepted. The Financial Delegates then paid in the sums due from the various Societies, which amounted to $31.43¾. . .

RESOLVED, that a Committee of three be appointed, to be denominated the Publishing Committee, with

discretionary powers, when the following persons were appointed: Asa Scribner, George Rowland, H. S. Schenck. . .

National Trades' Union, May 2, 1835, p. 2, col. 2.

[April 21] . . . The Corresponding Secretary stated, that he had received an application from the Saddlers, Harness-makers, and Trimmers' Society, for admission into the Trades' Union – which he proposed should be acted upon before proceeding to the other business of the meeting. The proposition being agreed to, the Convention then proceeded to ballot for them, when they were declared unanimously elected. It was understood that the Delegates were present, and they were accordingly invited into the room – when Geo. B. R. Wade, Francis Beers, and Thomas Daws, presented their credentials, and were invited to take their seats. . . Mr. Jacob S. Casterline, from the Ladies' Shoe and Men's Pump-makers' Society, presented his credentials, which were accepted, and he was invited to take his seat.

The Report of the Finance Committee was then given in, which shows a balance in their hands of $181.98. The Report was accepted. . .

The subject of the revision of the Constitution was then taken up, and the following amendments were adopted by the Convention:

Section 1. The Treasurer shall, at the discretion of the Convention, hold the moneys belonging to this body, to the amount of $50, for which he shall give such security as may be deemed sufficient; and no payment shall be made by him, without an order signed by all the resident members of the Finance Committee, and counter-signed by the President and Secretary.

Section 2. Each resident member of the Finance

Committee shall deliver to the President of the Convention, at every stated meeting, the amount due from their respective Societies, and non-residents, at least as often as once in three months.

The 12th Article of the By-Laws was so amended as to read "Resident members," instead of "Members of the Finance Committee." The above amendments were agreed to by the Convention, and will be laid before the Societies for their sanction. It was resolved, that the Finance Committee hold an extra meeting once in three months, half an hour earlier than the Convention on the evening of their meeting, for the accommodation of members from other places, to examine their book and report to the Convention.

On account of an error in the last Report, the names of the Delegates from the Fudge Boot and Shoe-makers' Society, were not published. The credentials of William Scarlett, Lewis Lyon, Henry Lyon, Jas. P. Hand, Thomas Milliage and Abram Storms, were handed in and accepted.

On motion, it was resolved, that the Secretary be added to the Publishing Committee.

The amount of moneys collected was $82. . .

National Trades' Union, Aug. 22, 1835, p. 3, col. 2, 3.

[July 22] A Special Meeting of the Trades' Union of Newark and vicinity, was held at the Washington Hotel, July 22d, agreeably to a request of a Committee from Paterson, who were accompanied by Mr. Scott, Vice President of the New York Trades' Union. It was, on motion, resolved, that George Rowland and Howard S. Schenck do constitute a Committee to invite the Paterson Delegation and Mr. Scott into the room of the Convention.

The Delegation being invited to address the Union, Mr. Field of Paterson stated, the object of their mission was, to ascertain of this Convention if the Mechanics of Paterson could join the Trades' Union here; and if eligible to join, how to proceed for that purpose; and also to request this Union to exert its influence in aiding them in a pecuniary manner, if, in the anticipated struggle for their rights, it should be deemed necessary. Mr. Scott followed, and in a most forcible speech depicted the condition of the Operatives of Paterson. He concluded by earnestly requesting the Union to take their case into consideration.

Mr. Schenck offered the following resolution, which was unanimously carried: resolved, that the Mechanics of Paterson are hereby informed, that they will be received into this Union in any manner they may deem proper, provided they present their Roll Books for the inspection of the General Finance Committee of the Union, in accordance with the Constitution. Resolved, that the following do constitute a Committee to correspond with them—George Rowland, Howard S. Schenck, and Philip Wilson. Resolved, that the Committee shall, on the receipt of an answer, call a special meeting, if they deem it necessary. Resolved, that the National Convention be requested to hold their session here. . . NOAH HUTSON, V. Pres.

[July 25] A special meeting of the Trades' Union of Newark and vicinity was held at the Washington Hotel, July 25th, in consequence of a deputation (consisting of Messrs. Luther, Osgood, and Virgen,) having been sent from Boston, to confer with the Trades' Union here. They were accompanied by Mr. Scott, Vice President of the Trades' Union of N. York. Howard S. Schenck and Philip Wilson were deputed to invite

the delegation and Mr. Scott into the room of the Convention.

The delegation having been requested to address the Union, Mr. Luther arose and stated their object, which was to establish the ten-hour system in every place where it is practicable; and concluded by requesting the Convention to send a delegation with them to assist in accomplishing the object.

The following persons were then appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the Convention: George Rowland, John H. Manahan, Asa Scribner, Howard S. Schenck, and Philip Wilson. The Committee submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted: resolved, that in viewing the position which the Mechanics of Boston have assumed, we perceive and acknowledge the justice of it, and are willing to co-operate with them in establishing a principle so conducive to human happiness. Resolved, that a Committee be appointed to proceed in conjunction with the Boston delegation, to Philadelphia, providing the Trades' Union of N. York sanction the same by a similar course. Mr. Henry Lyons was then appointed to accompany the delegation. . .

NOAH HUTSON, V. Pres.—PHILIP WILSON, Sec'y.

National Trades' Union, Nov. 14, 1835, p. 2, col. 3, 4.

At a special meeting of the Trades' Union of Newark and vicinity, held at Moore's Washington Hotel, on Thursday evening, Oct. 29, called to hear a statement from the Hand Loom Weavers of Philadelphia—the meeting having been called to order—it was, on motion,

RESOLVED, that Messrs. Baker, Pierson, and Scribner, be a committee to invite the delegation into the room.

Whereupon Messrs. Clayton and Fisher were introduced as said delegation. By invitation, Mr. Clayton explained the object of their mission—viz. to request this Union to assist them with their influence in a pecuniary manner; he also stated, that the Hand Loom Weavers could earn, by 14 hours steady application only one dollar, and that their employers were now endeavoring to reduce their already too low wages 20 per cent, leaving them only about 5 cents per hour. On motion, it was

RESOLVED, that the President appoint a committee of seven, to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this Convention; when the following gentlemen were appointed—Messrs. Pierson, Scribner, Wilson, Savage, Day, Howard, and Gardner. On motion, the Convention adjourned for half an hour, to allow the committee time to draft the resolutions. When the Convention again assembled, the committee reported the following, which were unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, that viewing with feelings of the utmost abhorrence the cruelty of the oppressive conduct of the employers of the Hand Loom Weavers of Philadelphia, we deem it a duty incumbent on us to recommend to our various Societies the necessity of adopting prompt and energetic measures to aid them, inasmuch as we conceive the attempt of their employers as one among the many to subvert the social happiness of the working portion of the community.

RESOLVED, that we rejoice to see our brethren of Philadelphia resisting this hydra of oppression, and pledge ourselves individually and collectively to make the most strenuous efforts to assist them in throwing off a yoke which no Republicans ought to submit to.

RESOLVED, that confiding in the increasing intelli-

gence of the producing classes, we do sincerely trust that every honest working man will come forward on this occasion, to render assistance to the oppressed, and teach the insatiate worshipper of Moloch, that the happiness of the many shall not be sacrificed at the altar of his unhallowed deity.

RESOLVED, that a copy of this be forwarded to Mr. Thomas Hogan, President of the Philadelphia Union with a request to have it published in the papers of that city.

RESOLVED, that a committee of one from each Society be appointed, to receive all contributions, and forward the same to the Hand Loom Weavers through Mr. Hogan. *Committee*—N. B. Garden, Henry M'Mullinson, John H. Baker, Charles N. Dodge, Richard Lee, Wm. Littell, Wm. Masters, Asa Scribner, Matthias Cassaine, James Buckley, Peter Lydecker, Geo. R. Wade, Aaron Reock, Alexander Major, Walter T. Pierson.

RESOLVED, that the receiving committee do meet next Thursday, at 8 o'clock, p.m., to receive such monies as may be collected. . . JOHN PATERSON, Pres't.

National Trades' Union, Jan. 2, 1836, p. 2, col. 3. Meetings of November 17, December 15.

[November 17] . . . N. B. Gardner, from the Committee appointed to receive contributions for the Hand-Loom Weavers of Philadelphia, reported, that one hundred dollars had been received for and sent to them, directed to Thomas Hogan, President of the Philadelphia Union. . .

Mr. Scribner offered the following resolutions, which was adopted. Resolved, that in case of application being made to this Union for pecuniary assistance, by a delegation from a Society or societies connected with

other Unions, such society or societies, not being beneficial members in the Unions to which they are attached, it shall be deemed necessary, before any action shall be taken on such application, for said delegation to present a certificate of their appointment, signed by the President and Secretary of the Society making such application, and countersigned by the President and Secretary of the Union to which they are attached, accompanying it with a statement showing that their own Union have or are about to take measures for their assistance. Resolved, that no pecuniary assistance shall be granted to any Society located in the vicinity of a Trades' Union, until such society connect itself to the Union.

RESOLVED, that we recommend to our various Societies the propriety of paying two cents per month, in addition to their monthly dues, agreeably to a suggestion of the National Convention.

RESOLVED, that we conform to the wishes of the National Convention, by sanctioning the appointment of a committee to investigate the bearing of State Prison labor on the interest of the honest mechanic.

N. B. Gardner was then appointed to visit Trenton, and make all the necessary inquiry in relation to the subject. . .

Credentials from the Hatters' Society of Newark, appointing Mr. D. G. Doremus, and Mr. — Norman; and of the Hatters of Orange, appointing Wm. Hervey as their delegate for the remainder of the term, were accepted. . .

[December 15] . . . Credentials, from the United Society of Journeymen Couriers, appointing Wm. H. Shiffer in place of Samuel Day, resigned; and from the Hatters' Society of Orange, appointing John Par-

onette in the place of Henry Clinton, resigned, were accepted.

Mr. Baker from the Committee to confer with the Hand-Loom Weavers of Philadelphia, stated, that no intelligence had been received from them on the subject.

Application for admission into the Union was made by the Morocco Leather Dressers, appointing Mr. Thomas Hargan their Delegate. They were elected unanimously, and the Delegate invited to take his seat in the Convention. . .

The Delegates from various Societies announced the passage of the two cent tax, as recommended by the National Convention. Adjourned. . .

National Trades' Union, Feb. 13, 1836, p. 2, col. 3. Meetings of January 19, February 4.

[January 19] . . . A communication from the Society of House Carpenters of Paterson, requesting permission to remit their dues, without sending their delegates, was read, when it was, resolved, that it be optional with foreign Societies to send their delegates, provided they remit their dues, and submit their roll book once in three months, for examination. A report of the Finance Committee was made. From said report it appears that there are 1,168 members belonging to the sixteen Societies comprising this Trades' Union. It was resolved, that this Convention meet at Mr. Star's Hotel for the future.

Mr. Cummerford, President of the New-York Trades' Union, being in the house, was invited into the room, who urged the necessity of a more general support of the *National Trades' Union* paper by this Union; when the following resolution was offered and unanimously adopted: resolved, that this Convention

use renewed exertions for the support of the "National Trades' Union" paper. . .

[February 4] . . . A communication was presented from the "Union benevolent Society of Journeymen Cordwainers" the "Second rate Boot Makers' Society," and the "Journeymen Boot Fitters' Society," stating their intention to strike for an advance of wages, providing the Union concur; the first for an advance of twelve and a half cents, the second for seventeen, and the third for twenty-five per cent. The request of each Society was taken up separately, discussed, and sanctioned. . .

National Trades' Union, March 19, 1836, p. 2, col. 2, 3. Meetings of February 16, March 2.

[February 16] . . . Samuel Earl presented his credentials from the Society of Second Rate Boot Makers, which were accepted. . . A statement having been made of the grievances of the journeymen Bookbinders of Philadelphia, the following Resolutions were adopted: resolved, that we view in the contest between the journeymen Book-binders of Philadelphia and their employers, a principle of Republican equity on the part of the employed, in demanding a fair and reasonable return for their labor, and on the part of the employers, that of the most aristocratic selfishness, in resisting the rights to which they are indisputably entitled. Resolved, that we tender to the journeymen Bookbinders of Philadelphia this expression of our sympathy, and we pledge ourselves to use every constitutional mode of relieving them.

Applications to the Union were read from the following Societies, requesting its sanction to their efforts to advance their wages: the journeymen Hatters of Newark – Cordwainers of Orange – and the House Carpen-

ters of Paterson, for ten hours and thirteen shillings per day. The applications were referred to a committee of investigation, consisting of one from each association. After a short conference, the committee reported – that the applicants were justly entitled to the rise they asked for. The report was accepted, and the applications sanctioned.

Mr. Wilson gave notice that on the next monthly meeting he would move for a committee to be appointed to revise the constitution.

Communications were received from the New York Trades' Union, stating their intention to establish a Daily Penny Paper, devoted to the interests of the producing classes, and giving this Union an opportunity to take stock in the concern, not to exceed two hundred dollars worth, which subject was referred to a special committee, to report at the next meeting, consisting of Messrs. Green, Mellville, Littell, and Wilson.

[March 2] A special meeting was called for the purpose of adopting measures to sustain the journeyman Curriers in their efforts to advance their wages. The convention, after due consideration, adopted a resolution to sanction their strike by a unanimous vote. A letter from the Trades' Union of New York was received, stating the difficulties of the journeymen Tailors of that city. A special committee was appointed to prepare a set of resolutions expressive of the views of the convention on the subject, who reported the following, which were adopted:

RESOLVED, that we conceive in the journeymen Tailors of New York as receiving no more previous to their strike than what they were justly entitled to, and do condemn in the most decided terms the present tyrannical conduct of their employers.

RESOLVED, that we coincide in the present stand made by the journeymen Tailors of New York against the attempts of their employers to reduce their wages.

National Laborer, July 30, 1836, p. 75, col. 2, 3.

[July 19] Whereas, we, the Delegates composing the Newark Trades' Union Convention, have read the late speech of Hon. Eli Moore, of New York, in defense of the principles entertained by the Working classes, and in reply to the Hon. Waddy Thompson of South Carolina, for having made a most shameful and ungenerous attack upon the mechanics and laboring people in general, without cause or provocation, feel it a duty incumbent upon us in justice to ourselves and in gratitude to Mr. Moore, for the ever to be remembered kindness he has done us in defending our rights, to express our views of the principles he has advocated. Mr. Moore, in his manly effort to sustain the character and advance the interests of the workingmen, has proved himself to be their friend, and is therefore in our opinion entitled to their approbation for the course he has pursued; the signs of the times must evidently show that powerful exertions are now being made throughout the country to oppress and degrade the Working classes; it is therefore our duty at all times, but more especially at the present time, to use all lawful and honorable means to maintain our rights and defeat our enemies; all that we ask is strictly in accordance with justice, and we are determined at all hazards never to compromise the principle.

RESOLVED, that this Convention fully approve of the principles set forth by the Hon. Eli Moore, as being the true principles of the working classes, and founded on the rights of man and common sense.

RESOLVED, that we believe the principles advanced by the Hon. Waddy Thompson, to be inconsistent with the spirit of freedom and equality, and dangerous to the rights of mechanics, and as such have been fully refuted by the sound reasoning and profound arguments of the Hon. Eli Moore.

RESOLVED, that we consider the introduction of Mr. Moore into the National Legislature, to be one of the most fortunate and happy circumstances connected with the interests of the Mechanics of the United States, and forming a new era in the history of the working classes in general.

JOSEPH L. WHYMAN, President.
SAMUEL S. BASSETT, Recording Secretary.

VIII

THE NATIONAL TRADES' UNION

INTRODUCTION

The first organization of American wage-earners on a national scale was brought about by an invitation from the "General Trades' Union of the City of New York and its vicinity" to other similar organizations to send delegates to a convention to be held in New York in July, 1834. Later this invitation was extended to trade societies in sections of the country where trades' unions were not yet formed. On account of the cholera, which was epidemic during the summer of 1834, the convention was postponed until August and was not as well attended as had been anticipated. It was estimated about this time that there were some 26,250 members of trades' unions in the United States distributed as follows:[4]

In New York and Brooklyn	11,500
Philadelphia	6,000
Boston	4,000
Baltimore	3,500
Washington, D.C.	500
Newark, N.J.	750
	26,250

At this first convention there were some thirty delegates from Boston, Philadelphia, Newark, Brooklyn, Poughkeepsie, and New York, and the sessions continued through five days. Ely Moore, a New York printer who was at that time president of the New York General Trades' Union, and in the fall of the same year was

[4] *Working Man's Advocate*, June 21, 1834.

elected to Congress, was made president; and William English, a Philadelphia shoemaker and one of the most prominent of the labor leaders of that city, was made recording secretary. The convention early plunged into a discussion of the relation of the movement to politics, and later adopted a constitution which created merely a national medium of agitation without administrative or disciplinary control over local unions. Even before the meeting of the convention a paper called the *National Trades' Union* had been started in New York, apparently under the special patronage of the General Trades' Union of New York.

The second convention met in October, 1835, again in New York. Forty-eight delegates were present from Philadelphia, Newark, Boston, Baltimore, and the State of New York (which furnished thirty delegates); and a "corresponding member" from Boston. John Ferral a Philadelphia weaver prominent both in the political and trade-union movements of that city, was elected president. This convention adopted a new constitution, which, however, was little stronger than the previous one. A committee was appointed to prepare an address to the working men of the United States, and a "Board of Commissioners for the Protection of Labor" was appointed to take measures to form trade societies and trades' unions.

The third convention of the National Trades' Union met in Philadelphia in October, 1836, with thirty-seven delegates from New York, Albany, Newark, Pittsburg, Reading, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and Cincinnati. This time Boston was not represented, but Dr. Charles Douglass of New London, Connecticut, formerly president of the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Workingmen, and delegate from the Boston Trades' Union to the National Trades'

Union convention in 1834, was admitted by vote to a seat. The carpenters and hand-loom weavers were holding national conventions in Philadelphia at the same time, and their delegates were also invited to attend the meetings. Alexander J. W. Jackson of Baltimore was elected president; Thomas Hogan, one of the most prominent of the Philadelphia leaders, and editor of the *National Laborer*, corresponding secretary; and John Commerford, who had recently completed a term as president of the General Trades' Union of New York, treasurer. The significant work of this convention was another revision of the constitution.

The new constitution shows a distinct advance and even a change of character. The national union was greatly strengthened in its financial position and its acts were made, not merely advisory, but binding on the constituent unions and societies. In 1834, it had been a convention to promote agitation, in 1836 it had become a federation to support strikes. The National Trades' Union was always, however, merely a union of what would now be called "city central bodies" and of local trade unions. No provision was made for the representation of national trade unions.

Before the new constitution could be fairly tried, however, the panic of 1837 descended. The convention of 1836 had adjourned to meet in Philadelphia in May of the following year, and that it did so meet is proved by a notice which appeared in the *Public Ledger* inviting working men and citizens generally to attend. It is probable, however, that there were few delegates from without Philadelphia and that little was accomplished. Thus disappeared in a panic and depression, which the working men themselves had clearly foreseen as the inevitable result of the existing financial policy, the first national union of trades in this country.

1. THE CALL FOR A NATIONAL UNION OF THE TRADES

(a) INVITATION TO TRADES' UNIONS

The New York *Man*, May 3, 1834, p. 2, col. 2. This call was published in the *Working Man's Advocate*, (New York), May 3, 1834, and also in the *National Trades' Union*, July 12, 1834, the Philadelphia *Trades' Union*, the Boston *Artizan* and other papers.

GENERAL TRADES' UNION. At a regular monthly meeting of the Delegates of the "General Trades' Union of the city of New York and its vicinity," held on Wednesday evening, March 26th, 1834, the following resolutions were presented, and unanimously adopted, viz:

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this Convention the formation of a "National Union" would be highly conducive to the interest of the working classes of our Country.

RESOLVED, that an invitation be given by this Convention to the different Conventions of the Union to send a delegation of one from each Trade comprising the several Unions, to meet in the city of New York on the second day of July next, to consult on such measures as shall be most conducive to advance the moral and intellectual dignity of the laboring classes, sustain their pecuniary interest, succor the oppressed, and by all just chanical Professions.

RESOLVED, that these resolutions be transmitted to the different Trades' Unions of our country, and that they also be published, accompanied with a request to the mechanics of the cities of the different States which

have not yet formed Trades Unions, to form the same, and send Delegates to the "National Union."

Therefore, in accordance with the above resolution, the undersigned would respectfully request those of their fellow mechanics who have not formed "Trades' Unions" to form such "Unions" and send their delegates to the "National Union." ELY MOORE, President.

JAMES MCBEATH, JOHN H. BOWIE, Secretaries.

(b) INVITATION TO ALL TRADE SOCIETIES

National Trades' Union, Aug. 2, 1834, p. 2, col. 2.

"GENERAL TRADES' UNION." At a regular monthly meeting of the Convention, held on Wednesday evening July 30th, 1834, the following preamble and resolution were offered by Mr. Robert Townsend, jun. and unanimously adopted, viz.

Whereas one of the objects of this Convention in recommending the formation of a "National Union of Trades," was not only to form a union of trades in general, but a general union of trades in particular, therefore,

RESOLVED, that an invitation be given to the trade societies of those sections of our country where Trade Unions are not yet formed, to elect one Delegate from their respective trades to attend the National (Union) Convention.

An invitation is hereby given to such trade societies as feel disposed to elect one Delegate as their representative to attend the National Convention, which will be held in the city of New-York on the 25th of August, 1834. ELY MOORE, President.

JAMES MCBEATH, JOHN H. BOWIE, Secretaries.

P.S. Papers friendly to the cause of the Working Men are requested to give this an insertion.

2. THE CONVENTION OF 1834

(a) LIST OF DELEGATES

The Man, Sept. 2, 1834, p. 2, col. 1. Also in *National Trades' Union*, Sept. 6, 1834, p. 2, col. 3.

TRADES' UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION. Agreeably to a request of the National Convention, which adjourned on Friday, we publish below a list of the Delegates to that body, their residences, and the bodies represented by them.

MASSACHUSETTS – Boston. Charles Douglass, Benjamin H. Hammatt, J. L. Parsons, *Trades' Union of Boston and vicinity*, composed of sixteen Trades.

PENNSYLVANIA – Philadelphia. William English, *U.B. Soc. of Journeymen Cordwainers (Men's Branch)*; Thomas Hogan, *Typographical Association*; Thomas Bedford, *Cedar Coopers' Society*; John Ferral, *Blockley and Manayunk, Manufacturer*; John Crossin, *Saddlers' and Harness Makers' Society*; James Jeffres, *Leather Dressers' Association No. 2*; Michael Labarthe, *Association of Journeymen Hatters.*

NEW JERSEY – Newark. Howard S. Schenck, *Ladies' Shoe and Men's Pump Makers' Society*; Lewis Lyon, *Men's Fudged Boot and Shoe Makers' Society*; John Helm, *Boot Fitters' Society.*

NEW YORK – New York City. David Scott, *Journeymen Tailors' Society*; John Crygier, *Journeymen Bookbinders' Society*; John Short, *United Society of Journeymen Cordwainers (Men's Branch)*; Barnabas S. Gillespie, *New York Benevolent Society of Journeymen Cabinet Makers*; John Commerford, *Journeymen*

Chair Makers' Society; John Todd, *Bakers' Trades Union Society*; John H. Bowie, *Journeymen Curriers' Society*; Ely Moore, *Typographical Association*; Norris Philbrick, *Granite Stone Cutters' Association*; Henry E. Insley, *Brush Makers' Society*; William G. Bogart, *Ladies' Cordwainers' Society*; John Smith, *Associated Silk Hatters*; Robert Townsend, *Union Society of Journeymen House Carpenters*; John Brown, *Sail Makers' Trade Society*; John Priestly, *Leather Dressers' Association.*

Brooklyn. Richard Sharp, *Journeymen Tailors' Society.*

Poughkeepsie. Thomas Haight, *Journeyman Cordwainers' Society.*

(b) PROCEEDINGS

These proceedings were published in *The Man*, Aug. 26-30, Sept. 2, 1834. Also in *National Trades' Union*, Aug. 30, 1834, pp. 2, 3; and Sept. 6, p. 2, col. 3, 4.

[August 25] Mr. Ely Moore, of N. York, was called to the chair, and Mr. Wm. English, of Philadelphia, was appointed Secretary. The following persons then presented their credentials and were received as members of the Convention: Philadelphia – John Croslin, Wm. English; Boston – J. L. Parsons; Newark – Howard S. Schenck, Lewis Lyon; Poughkeepsie – Thomas Haight; New York – Eli Moore, John Crygier, Henry E. Insley, David Scott, Barnabas S. Gillespy, John Smith, Norris Philbrick, Wm. E. Bogart. . .

[August 26] . . . The following additional persons presented their credentials and were received as Delegates: New York – Robert Townsend, John Todd, John Short, John Commerford; Philadelphia – John Farrell, Tho's. Hogan, James Jeffers, Michael Le-

barth; Boston – Charles Douglass, Benjamin H. Hammatt; Newark – John Helm.

The Delegates then present resolved themselves into a National Convention of the Trades' Unions. It was resolved, that the officers of the Convention be a President, two Vice Presidents, Recording Secretary, and a Corresponding Secretary.

Considerable discussion ensued as to the manner in which the officers of the Convention should be chosen, and it was finally decided unanimously that open nominations should be made for the different offices, and that the officers should then be elected by ballot, a majority of the whole being necessary to a choice. Candidates were then nominated; Messrs. Bogert and Jeffries were appointed Tellers and Mr. Labarthe Judge; the balloting took place; Mr. Douglass was called to the chair, Mr. Moore having vacated it, and the following persons were declared duly elected to the offices named, on the first ballot: Ely Moore, *President*; B. H. Hammett, Thomas Hogan, *Vice Presidents*; William English, *Recording Secretary*; J. L. Parsons, *Corresponding Secretary*. . .

Three o'clock p.m. The President, Vice Presidents, and Secretaries took their seats; and the President, in an appropriate address, returned his thanks for the honor conferred upon him. . .

Mr. J. H. Bowie, of New York, presented his credentials, and was accepted as a member of the Convention.

Mr. Townsend then offered a series of resolutions to the Convention, which he prefaced by a few observations, elucidating his views in so doing. The following are the resolutions, together with the committees appointed in pursuance of them:

RESOLVED, that a Committee be appointed to draft

an Address to the mechanics and laboring classes of the United States – Dr. Douglass, Messrs. Labarthe, Schenck, Townsend, and Farrell.

RESOLVED, that a Committee be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the views of the Convention on the social, civil and intellectual condition of the laboring classes of the country – Messrs. Farrell, Scott, Crossin, Parsons, Crygiere.

RESOLVED, that a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress on those evils to which the laboring classes are subjected, and the remedy for which is within the Constitutional powers of the General Government – Messrs. Townsend, Schenck, Commerford, Jeffries, and Parsons.

RESOLVED, that a Committee be appointed to draft a Constitution for a National Union of Trades; also to prepare a code of By Laws – Messrs. English, Hammett, Hogan, Philbrook, and Gillespie. . .

[August 27] Mr. John Brown, from the sail makers of N. York, and Mr. Thomas Bedford, from the cedar coopers of Philadelphia, presented their credentials and were received as members.

On motion of Mr. Hammett, of Boston, a committee of five was appointed to report such other business appropriate for the action of the Convention as might not be included in the duties of the committees heretofore appointed: Messrs. Hammett, Commerford, Bogert, Short, and Moore.

RESOLVED, that the editors of papers friendly to the cause of the Unions be requested to publish a list of the Delegates, and of the Trades and places represented in this Convention.

Mr. Commerford offered a resolution in relation to state prison labor, which was referred to the Committee

on business. Mr. English offered a resolution in relation to the laws respecting combinations, which was referred after considerable discussion, to a committee of five consisting of Messrs. English, Moore, Douglass, Helm and Gillespie.

RESOLVED, that an invitation to attend the meetings of this Convention be given to the Editors of Papers friendly to the cause and measures of the Working Men; and that the sergt. at arms be directed to provide suitable seats for them. . .

Three o'clock p.m. Mr. Priestly, from the Leather Dressers of New York, presented his credentials, and was received as a member.

Mr. Douglass from the committee to prepare an address to the working classes of the United States, made a report, which was laid on the table. (The report recommended an amalgamation of that committee and the committee to draft resolutions on the social, civil, and intellectual condition of the working classes.)

Mr. Hammett, from the committee to report new business, made the following report:

The Committee appointed to suggest such measures or business necessary to be acted on by this Convention as may not have yet received their attention, after as mature and extensive a deliberation as the short time afforded them would allow, recommend the following measures and resolutions for the consideration of this Convention, and should any measure proper for the consideration of this body have been omitted, they feel assured the intelligence of the members will supply them.

They recommend that the Committee on an Address to the Mechanics and Working Men be exonerated from reporting to this Convention, and be empowered to publish their Address, when prepared, in such manner and to such extent as they may deem advisable.

They recommend that this Convention devise means to defray expenses of said publication, and such other expenses as may be attendant upon its sessions.

They recommended that the Committee on the Memorial to Congress be instructed to embody in said memorial a remonstrance against the manner in which the public wild lands are disposed of; and also a condensed statement of what manner of disposing of such lands would be satisfactory to the Working Classes; and that said committee be instructed to report at our next session, such report being the order of the day until finally disposed of.

The committee would propose the following resolutions:

RESOLVED, that this committee recommend to the various Unions which they represent, the adoption of uniform and energetic measures to procure a superior system of Public Education by means of Manual Labor Schools, patronized by the Legislatures of the States in which they are located, than they have yet enjoyed.

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this Convention, the present system of State Prison Labor is highly injurious to the working classes; and it is recommended to the local Unions to adopt such measures to procure relief from evils flowing from this source as they may deem advisable.

RESOLVED, that a committee be appointed to prepare a statement of the best means to be used to prevent the reduction of wages, and ensure the reduction the hours of labor.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

BENJAMIN H. HAMMETT, JOHN SHORT, ELY MOORE, WILLIAM E. BOGART, JOHN COMMERFORD.

The report was accepted, when a debate ensued on a motion for the adoption of the first recommendation,

which was terminated by a call for the previous question, which was sustained, and the recommendation was adopted. The second recommendation of the committee was also adopted, and the third was laid over for the present. The first resolution of the committee was referred to the committee on resolutions. The second resolution was adopted. The third was also adopted, and the following committee was appointed in pursuance of it: Messrs. Schenck, Jeffries, Parsons, Smith, and Farrell.

The Report of Mr. Douglass was then taken up, and, after much discussion, it was resolved, that the Committee be united, and that they report resolutions to the Convention on Friday morning.

Mr. Townsend then offered a series of resolutions in relation to the social, civil, and intellectual condition of the working classes, which were referred to the joint committee on the address and resolutions. . .

[August 28] . . . Mr. Richard Sharp, from the Journeymen Tailors' Society of Brooklyn, presented his credentials and was received as a member.

Mr. Farrell, from the committee to draft resolutions on the social, civil, and intellectual condition of the working classes, reported a preamble to the proposed resolutions, which was adopted unanimously.

Mr. English, from the Committee to draft a Constitution for a National Trades' Union, reported the draft of a Constitution. The report was accepted, and, on motion, it was resolved that each article of the Constitution be taken up separately. . . The different articles of the Constitution were then taken up separately, and all were unanimously adopted, with very little discussion. The Constitution as a whole was then adopted unanimously.

Mr. Schenck, from the committee upon preparing a statement of the measures to be adopted to prevent a reduction of wages, and to establish a proper number of hours for labor, make the following report:

The Committee upon preparing a statement of the measures to be adopted, to prevent a reduction of wages, and secure a proper number of hours for labor, after mature deliberation, beg leave to report. It appears to your Committee that the most effectual step to be taken for the accomplishment of the first purpose named, and, in fact, for the general benefit of the laboring classes, is the formation of Trades' Unions all over the country, thereby promoting a concerted action in every branch of Mechanical business by an interchange of feeling and a just understanding of the difficulties under which each may labor. The Unions should, in the opinion of your Committee, be connected with each other in every section of the country: the result of which will be the dissemination of correct information from one district to another, and from one trade to another; preventing a surplus of hands in any department of business, and securing to all steady employment and just wages. With regard to the number of hours to constitute a day's labor, your committee apprehend that no recommendations are necessary from this Convention as a body, the separate trades can regulate this business with less risk of discontent. They are the more convinced of the utility of this measure, by reason of the uncertainty of fixing a general rule for all parts of the country.

HOWARD S. SCHENCK, JOHN FARRELL, JAMES JEFFERS, F. T. S. PARSONS, J. SMITH.

On motion of Mr. Townsend, it was resolved, that it be recommended to the different Trades' Unions, that every member of any Union composing the National

Union be considered a member of the several Unions, on his producing, within sixty days from its date, a certificate from the trade to which he belonged that he was a member in full standing, and had paid up all his dues, both to his trade and to the Union.

It was moved and carried that an Election of Officers of the National Trades' Union now take place, and Messrs. Douglass, Gillespie, and Jeffers were appointed Judges of the Election.

The Convention then proceeded to elect officers according to the Constitution. Mr. Moore was the only candidate nominated for President, (Mr. English having declined,) for which office he received 20 votes and Mr. Townsend 1, and was declared elected. Messrs. Hammatt, Farrell, Scott, Townsend, Schenck, Douglass, and Hogan were nominated for Vice Presidents; Messrs. Townsend and Douglass declined. On the first ballot there was no choice; on the second ballot the vote stood as follows:

	1ST V. P.	2D V. P.
Hammatt	14	7
Scott	7	1
Farrell	3	9

Mr. Hammatt was declared elected as the First, and Mr. Farrell as the Second Vice President.

Mr. English was the only candidate nominated for Recording Secretary, (Messrs. Parsons and Schenck having declined.) He received 25 votes and was elected. Messrs. Commerford, Short, and Schenck were nominated for Corresponding Secretary. Mr. Short declined. Commerford received 19 votes out of 23, and was declared elected. Messrs. Lyon, Crosson, Parsons, and Short were elected the Finance Committee. . .

[August 29] . . . Mr. Farrel, from the com-

mittee on resolutions, made the following report, which was accepted, and all the resolutions unanimously adopted.

The Committee to whom was referred the duty of drafting resolutions expressive of the views of the National Trades' Union Convention on the social, civil, and intellectual condition of the laboring classes, beg leave to report, that whereas all the actions and pursuits of man have for their object the possession of happiness, that this object is attained in proportion to the ratio of the intelligence and virtue of man individually and collectively must be apparent to the most superficial observer; and whereas society is conducive to happiness, it being good for man to associate with his fellow man, moral justice of necessity becomes the keystone to the arch of the social compact, and the permanence and value of all social institutions must be apportionate to their utility and their degree of assimilation with the principle of moral justice; and whereas the social, civil, and intellectual condition of the laboring classes of these United States, and the like classes in all countries, exhibit the most unequal and unjustifiable distribution of the produce of labor, thus operating to produce a humiliating, servile dependency, incompatible with the inherent natural equality of man. And whereas each and every man is by nature compelled to consume the produce of labor in the supply to his necessary wants, moral justice would exact from every individual, when not incapacitated by natural imbecility or accident, a fair and full equivalent to society for that which he consumes, and also that he should contribute his due portion of labor towards the contingencies of society, for the protection and security he derives therefrom; and whereas the accumulation of the wealth of society in the

hands of a few individuals (which has been abstracted from the producers thereof by means of the erroneous customs, usages, and laws of society) is subversive of the rights of man, seeing that wealth or property only can be justly acquired in three ways, viz. 1st, by producing, 2d, by exchanging labor for labor in equal quantities, and 3d, by donation; it therefore becomes a duty imperative on every productive laborer, who values the liberties of his country, the welfare of the human family, and his own social happiness, to keep the evils that exist in society steadily in view, that knowing them, he may the more effectually direct his energies to destroy the causes from whence they arise, and by a well concerted union with his fellow laborers, concoct and carry out into practice such measures as will secure, at least to the present generation, the gratitude of their descendants, for their having barked the tree of Corruption, and nourished that of Liberty and Equality, without which life itself is a burden to its possessor;

Therefore, be it resolved, that this Convention, deeply impressed with the conviction, that the primary causes of all the evils and difficulties with which the laboring classes are environed, can be traced to the want of a correct knowledge of their own value as producers, and the just estimate of their resources, would recommend, that such of the working classes of these United States as have not already formed themselves into societies for the protection of their industry, do so forthwith, that they may by these means be enabled effectively to make common cause with their oppressed brethren, and the more speedily disseminate such knowledge as may be most conducive to their interests in their respective trades and arts, as well as their general interests as productive laborers.

RESOLVED, that this Convention view the systems of Education now in operation in these United States as destructive of that Equality which is predicated in the Declaration of Independence, because of their exclusive character in giving instruction to the wealthy few at the expense of the industrious many, fostering, by means of Colleges, Universities, Military or Naval Academies, &c., a professional Monopoly of Knowledge, thereby drawing a line of demarcation between the producers of all the wealth, and the other portions of society which subsist upon the fruits of the Working Man's industry.

RESOLVED, that this Convention do recommend to the various Trades Unions, that they take into their serious consideration the importance of an Equal, Universal, Republican system of Education, and that they take such measures thereon as may to them be deemed advisable.

RESOLVED, that this Convention deprecate the system now practised in the disposal of the Public Lands, because of its violating the inherent rights of the citizen, seeing that the whole of the unseated lands belong unto the people, and should not be disposed of to the prejudice of any class of society each and every citizen having a just claim to an equitable portion thereof, a location upon which being the only just title thereunto.

RESOLVED, that this Convention would the more especially reprobate the sale of the Public Lands, because of its injurious tendency as it affects the interests and independence of the laboring classes, inasmuch as it debars them from the occupation of any portion of the same, unless provided with an amount of capital which the greater portion of them, who would avail themselves of this aid to arrive at personal independence,

cannot hope to attain, owing to the many encroachments made upon them through the reduction in the wages of labor consequent upon its surplus quantity in the market, which surplus would be drained off, and a demand for the produce of mechanical labor increased, if these public lands were left open to actual settlers.

RESOLVED, that this committee view with serious alarm the deplorable condition of the male and female children employed in the cotton and woolen manufactories in this country, and the many privations they are subjected to, arising from the early age they are put to work in factories and the enormous length of time allotted for a day's labor. This subject is earnestly recommended to the attention of the various Unions of our country, and it is to be hoped that they will forward memorials to the legislatures of their respective states, embodying therein the outlines of such a plan as may be approved by them, and it is also suggested that lawful security should be exacted from the proprietors of manufactories, for the education of every child employed by them therein.

RESOLVED, that the laws existing in portions of our country, under which Trades' Unions among mechanics for the maintainance of their rights, and the correction of abuses, are declared illegal Combinations, are a manifest violation of the Constitution of these United States, and an infringement of the lawful rights of every citizen: and this Convention do hereby urge upon the serious consideration of every laboring man the absolute necessity of their repeal.

RESOLVED, that as productive labor is the only legitimate source of wealth, and as the productive laborers have been deprived of the advantages of their labor by bad legislation, it behooves this portion of the commun-

ity to regain and maintain, by correct legislation, what they have lost by inattention to their own best interests.

RESOLVED, that hereafter it should be the first as well as the last duty of every laborer, to inform himself on the subject of his equal rights and labor to promote the good of the whole community, rather than to confer privileges on a favored few. Signed on behalf of the Committee. JOHN FARREL, Ch'n.

Mr. Townsend, from the committee of which he was chairman, reported a memorial to Congress, which was read and laid on the table. The Convention then adjourned to 3 o'clock, p.m.

Three o'clock p.m. A vote of thanks to the Common Council, for the use of the Sessions Room, was adopted. . .

The Committee on "Combination" laws were discharged from the further consideration of the subject, in consequence of its being anticipated by the resolutions reported by Mr. Farrel in the morning.

The memorial reported by Mr. Townsend was then taken up, and, after some discussion, the Committee on the Memorial was added to the joint committee, and the memorial was referred to that Committee.

Mr. Hogan introduced the following resolutions by some eloquent and appropriate remarks on the subjects to which they relate: resolved, that we recommend to the several Trades Unions in the United States to oppose resolutely every attempt to reduce their wages, and to hold fast to any additions they may receive. Resolved, that we acknowledge not the distinction which wealth demands, and that we will refuse honor and office to every man who does not promote by a good example and deeds of benevolence the welfare of his fellow beings. Resolved, that a Committee be appointed to de-

vise a plan for a general system of Education, and report the same, with the most proper and practicable mode of accomplishing it, at the next annual Convention of the National Trades' Union. The resolutions were, after some discussion, adopted, and Messrs. Hogan, Farrel, and English, were appointed a committee to carry the third into effect.

On motion of Mr. English, the delegates from the various Trades' Unions, were instructed to lay the subject of publishing the address together with all the proceedings of the Convention, in pamphlet form, before their Unions, and communicate the result to chairman of the committee on the address. . .

On motion of Mr. Schenck, the thanks of the Convention were voted to the editors of the *Man, Working Man's Advocate*, and *National Trades' Union*, for their liberality in furnishing papers to the Convention. On motion of Mr. Townsend, it was ordered, that the chairman of the committee on the address and proceedings transmit a copy thereof, when printed, to each of the members of the delegates.

On motion of Mr. Labarthe, the Convention dissolved itself, and the delegates organized the National Trades' Union, Mr. Hammatt, 1st Vice President in the chair.

On motion, it was resolved, that when the Union adjourns, it adjourn to meet again at the call of the proper officers. On motion, it was resolved, that the memorial be signed by the officers and members of the National Trades Union before the transmission of the same to Congress. The Convention then adjourned.

[September 2] In our report of the last day's proceedings of the National Convention of the Trades' Unions, we accidentally omitted the following: On motion of Mr. Bowie, it was resolved, that the follow-

ing papers, viz: the *Man, Working Man's Advocate*, and *National Trades' Union*, of New York; the *New England Artizan*, of Boston, the *American Mechanic*, of Washington, the *American Manufacturer*, of Pittsburgh, and the *Trades' Union*, of Philadelphia, be recommended to the support of the Working Men throughout the United States.

(c) DEBATE ON THE WORD "POLITICS"

The Man, Sept. 6, 1834, p. 1, col. 2, 3; p. 2, col. 1.
The Philadelphia union of 1828 here referred to was evidently the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations.

TRADES' UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION. The following is a very brief sketch of a debate on the word *politics*, which took place in the National Convention the second day of its session; the following resolution, offerred by Mr. Townsend, being under consideration:

RESOLVED, that a Committee be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the views of the Convention on the social, civil, and political condition of the laboring classes of the country.

Mr. Schenck hoped that the word "political" in the resolution would be omitted. The proceedings of the Unions, he said, were watched, narrowly watched, and although he believed that in reality the term implied nothing improper, it was misunderstood by many, and might prove fatal to the interests of the Unions, by arraying against them the force of one or other of the political parties. He therefore moved that the word "political" be stricken out.

Mr. Townsend opposed the motion. He considered it bad policy for the working classes to allow the word "politics" to be used as a bugbear by the aristocracy. What, he asked, did politics mean, but the science of

government? It was true, he said, that Dean Swift had defined politics to be "the madness of the many for the benefit of the few," and if that were the true definition of the term, he was opposed to having the Union take any part in politics; but the Dean, he thought, must have intended to define party politics, and in that sense the definition might be correct. It was the right and the duty of the working classes, he contended, to view and review all the measures of public men and public bodies, and to test them by the lever of equal rights and the plumb rule of justice. If the measures of government would not bear this test, who were the sufferers? The useful laboring classes. It behooved them, therefore, not to allow themselves to be frightened from a proper attention to their interests by a bugbear of the aristocracy. He was by no means an admirer of the federal doctrines of Gov. Morris, but his definition of politics as "the science of the happiness of man" he had ever admired; he believed it the best definition of the term, and hoped it would be adopted, and that the word would be suffered to remain in the resolution.

Mr. Douglass thought, with the gentleman last up, that the word "politics" had been far too much used as a bugbear against the working men. The policy of every human being was to promote his own happiness; whatever measures, therefore, were calculated to promote the welfare and happiness of the mass were essentially the policy of the working classes. There was nothing in that doctrine that ought to excite alarm. Every good man was and ought to be so much of a politician as support measures calculated to increase the sum of human happiness. Why, as a whole, were the useful classes so degraded? The reason was obvious: the policy pursued by their legislators was not their own

policy, not that policy calculated to promote their welfare. They had become degraded by bad legislation; they had got into difficulty by it, and how were they to get out but by legislating themselves out? They could only advance their interests by choosing such men for legislators as were identified with them. They belonged to no party; they were neither disciples of Jacksonism nor Clayism, Van Burenism nor Websterism, nor any other *ism* but *workeyism*. This Convention had assembled because the working classes were partially shorn of their rights, and because their interests had been neglected, to devise means to restore those rights and to have their interests attended to: this was their *policy*, this their *Politics*, and he hoped that they would adhere to them.

Mr. Schenck could subscribe entirely to the gentleman's definition of the word politics, but it was not so understood and acted upon by the Societies. He spoke from knowledge when he said it was almost impossible to retain some of them now. He would therefore wish that the Trades might first organize, and improve their condition. It could do no harm to leave the word out of the resolution. The delegates to the Convention might agree, and probably did agree, on the meaning of the word, but their constituents were not there to hear what took place. He was therefore convinced of the propriety of omitting the word.

Mr. Labarthe (if we rightly understood him) thought that the Unions, for the present, at least, should confine their efforts to a reduction of the hours, and to maintaining the price of labor. He alluded to the formation of a Trades Union in Philadelphia a few years ago, which afterwards became merged in the "Working Men's Party" in consequence of taking a part

in politics, and that, he said, was now extinct, as well as the Union. He was in favor of striking out the word political.

Mr. Townsend said it was by no means his wish that the working classes of the Union should act with any political party. They hold the balance of power and could more easily obtain what they want by keeping aloof from party. It was only necessary for them to say what they want, and each party would be anxious to adopt their measures. If the word political in the resolution could be construed to favor [any] party, he would say strike it out.

A delegate whose name we did not obtain, here observed that he had express instructions from his trade to confine himself entirely to measures calculated to advance the moral, intellectual and pecuniary condition of the working classes, and to extend the Unions.

The President here read an extract from the call of the Convention, showing that its objects were "to consult on such measures as shall be most conducive to advance the moral and intellectual dignity of the laboring classes, sustain their pecuniary interest, succor the oppressed, and by all just means maintain the honor and respectability of the mechanical profession." No delegate elected under the call, he said, would transcend his authority by voting for the resolution, which was a legitimate subject for discussion.

Mr. English agreed that the subject matter of the resolution was within the power of the Convention, but the means to be used to effect their object might be various. The resolution proposed to appoint a committee to draft resolutions "on the social, civil, and political condition of the working classes," and an objection to striking out the word "political" had been urged,

on the ground that it was intended to favor neither of the two political parties; but it had not been said that it was not intended to form a third party, which he thought would be equally inimical to the interests of the Unions. In Philadelphia, in 1828, the first Trades' Union was formed in this country, and one clause of its constitution excluded all political action; but, judging that the objects of the Union could not be obtained without its taking a part in politics, many members diverged from it and established what was called the "Working Men's Party," and, from that moment, as it advanced the Union retrograded, and though at one time it embraced 15 societies, at the end of a year the number was reduced to four, and the Union adjourned *sine die*. The same cause, he said, would produce the same effect. Already dissatisfaction existed. In Philadelphia two societies had refused to send delegates to the Convention, and from Baltimore there was not one delegate. Wilmington and the District of Columbia, too, where Unions existed, were unrepresented in the Convention. He thought it would be advisable to avoid everything that might have a tendency to prevent a general Union of the Trades, and was in favor of striking out.

Mr. Townsend expressly disclaimed all intention of forming a political party. He thought the laboring classes could do more by maintaining the balance of power.

Mr. Ferral thought, from the shape the debate had assumed, that the Convention would be liable to the charge of being more acted upon by sound than sense. All were agreed as to advancing their moral and social condition, but this bugbear "political" was in the way. If this word was a stumbling block, if the delegates

thought their constituents were only babes in knowledge, why not feed them with pap, and as they advanced give them more solid food? He thought it a great evil for the mass to follow leaders; they had met with many disappointments in consequence, and he hoped soon to see a different state of things. He thought that, under existing circumstances, it would be better to strike out the word "political" and insert "intellectual." The resolution, so amended, would be equally effectual, and could not be objectionable. It was not the term, but the thing itself that was important. If the Trades could form a perfect Union, by concert they would disseminate knowledge; therefore if the word political in the resolution was calculated to retard the formation of such a Union, he would strike it out, as he need not attempt to show that "social, civil, and intellectual" would embrace all that was necessary, though he was fully satisfied that the working classes would never effectually remedy the evils under which they were suffering until they carried their grievances to the polls, and make them known by a judicious selection of law makers. He moved, as an amendment, that "political" be striken out and "intellectual" inserted in the resolution.

The amendment having been seconded, the President remarked that the resolution with the proposed amendment, would embrace all that was necessary or desirable. Let the intellectual condition of the working classes be improved, and an improvement in their political condition would be the necessary consequence.

[The amendment was carried, and the resolution passed unanimously.]

(d) DISCUSSION ON THE CONDITION OF FEMALES IN MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS

National Trades' Union, Sept. 13, 1834, p. 2, col. 5, 6. Quoted in *The Man*, Sept. 17, 1834, p. 1, col. 1, 2, 3; p. 2, col. 1.

TRADES' UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION. Sketch of the Discussion on the Condition of Females in the Manufacturing Establishments in this country.

Mr. Douglass said he rose to suggest to the members of this Convention, the propriety, and the duty, of taking into consideration the condition and prospects of the females engaged in manufacturing establishments in this country. For himself, he considered it one of the most important subjects which could occupy their attention – a subject in which our future welfare was deeply concerned.

He observed, that in the single village of Lowell, there were about 4000 females of various ages, now dragging out a life of slavery and wretchedness. It is enough to make one's heart ache, said he, to behold these degraded females, as they pass out of the factory – to mark their wan countenances – their woe-stricken appearance. These establishments are the present abode of wretchedness, disease and misery; and are inevitably calculated to perpetuate them – if not to destroy liberty itself!

[Mr. D. entered into a description of the effects of the present factory system, upon the health and morals of the unhappy inmates; and depicted, in a strong light, the increase of disease and deformity, from an excess of labor, want of out-door exercise, and of good air – of the prevalence of depravity from their exposed situation, and their want of education, having no time or opportunity for schooling; and observed, that the decrepid,

sickly and debilitated inmates of these prison-houses were marrying and propagating a race of beings more miserable, if possible, than themselves.—ED. *The Man.*]

We talk, said Mr. D., of the rising generation! What must that generation be, coming from such a stock of disease and deformity? What a race, in comparison to our hardy forefathers, whose iron nerves could second their resolute souls to meet any emergency! It is of little use for us to legislate here, said Mr. D., while this factory system is undoing more than our united exertions can possibly build up. It was his confirmed opinion, that this system was laying the foundation of an aristocracy; and is so intended by its projectors. He believed it to be a deliberate plot of the enemies of freedom and equality, to ruin the farmers, to break down that sturdy, independent spirit, so characteristic of the former race, so unpropitious to the future schemes of aristocrats. They can command more money than the farmer, and are applying their "facilities" to draw his sons and daughters from the farm to the factories. For a few years past, the sons of our farmers, as soon as they are of sufficient age, have been induced to hasten off to the factory, where for a few pence more than they could get at home, they are taught to become the willing servants, the servile instruments of their employer's oppression and extortion! The daughters, too, must quit the farm house, the seat of ruddy health and former content, for a confined and baneful workshop, where, to be sure, she earns a little more money, for a short time; but as surely loses health, if not her good character, her happiness!

What is the course the managers of these establishments pursue? Knowing these adventurers have come for gain, they commence a direct appeal to their feel-

ings of avarice – persuade them to work overhours. After a few months spent in excessive labor, these unfortunate young people most frequently find, too late, their constitutions destroyed – their health gone, and ere long, they go down to the grave, to swell the list of yearly victims of this pernicious system.

Mr. D. mentioned an instance he had lately heard of; it was of a hale New Hampshire girl, who came to Lowell for work. She, like others, was induced to commence overwork, which she pursued for four months. At the end of this term, she was compelled to quit: the blight of disease had fastened upon her – the rose of health had departed. She returned to her once happy home; and, in two months more, was carried to her grave. This was an example of many regularly occurring.

It is our duty, sir, to look to these establishments; to calculate the consequences of their further spread. We must look after these men of high percentage, bred to that, and who care for nothing else. Who shall reform this system but the working men? This is, indeed, the most important work we have to do. How shall we avert the evil? They resort to piece work, that we may not be able to reach them. But we must devise a remedy; we must appeal to the people to join, to set their faces against this system, as one pregnant with our certain destruction. We must go before our legislatures – must expose these "beings" – not to use a harsher term – who destroy life for gain – who make their enormous percentage at a yearly expense of hundreds of lives! They must be forced to shut their mills at a regular hour; there must be a certain time over which they shall not work; that all the inmates may have an opportunity to rest their weary limbs, and to enjoy free and wholesome air.

Mr. D. said he could honestly say, that no feelings of jealousy or enmity had suggested these remarks. They were prompted by a conviction of duty. He spoke as a democrat – as a friend of liberty. He hoped we might never lose sight of the blessings of liberty – of a free government – to foster and promote the interests of an avaricious set of aristocrats.

Mr. Townsend said he agreed with the gentleman from Boston, that the condition of our females engaged in the manufacturing establishments demanded our serious consideration; he thought that the subject was one legitimately within the bounds of our labor, and should be acted upon by the Convention. It was the working men who should have to reform the numerous evils which oppress the producing classes generally. But he was at a loss to see how it was to be done. Many of these evils arose from political sources, and could only be reached in that way; we ought to commence at the fountain head. But, from the sensitiveness of some, in regard to even the name of politics, he feared we should be compelled to avoid every effectual means of immediate reform. He admitted it was our duty to avoid all party politics; we must avoid Jacksonism, Clayism, Bankism, and every other ism, but patriotism, he believed no one could object to that.

Mr. Scott confirmed the remarks of Mr. Douglass in regard to the present condition of those engaged in the manufacturing interests. The situation of the females in particular was truly deplorable. They were, in a measure, in our trust; and we ought to exert ourselves in their behalf. We should appeal, as Mr. Douglass had said, to the people and to our legislatures, to interfere for the amelioration of their condition. He thought we should act as a body – should demand a reform in this partic-

ular. He could not agree with his colleague, that we were debarred from all political action. He was sensible of the propriety, and of the necessity, of our avoiding everything which partook of party politics; we should unitedly and perseveringly go to work to improve the condition of these oppressed females.

The subject of education had repeatedly been named here. He was sensible as anyone of the importance of it. The low prices, those in manufactories in particular, were receiving, rendered it impossible for the young to educate themselves; or of parents to send their children to school. None of our good schools were to be opened, except by a golden key. Some entire new means of educating the poor were necessary.

Mr. Commerford admitted, that the picture which Mr. Douglass had given of the miserable condition of females employed in the manufacturing districts of our country, was no exaggeration. He had informed us, that they are obliged to toil almost incessantly for a miserable pittance and had called upon this convention to use its efforts to check the system. He wishes us to enter into such measures as will protect them from the tyranny which now bows them down: in short, we are called upon to use our energies to curtail their hours of labor. Now, Sir, I feel as deeply for the situation of these miserable victims of the "American system," as any gentleman can; but in endeavoring to alleviate their sufferings we are bound to look at the causes, and consider whether we are able to accomplish any permanent good in their behalf. If we can be satisfied that the manufacturing capitalist, from the profits of his business is able to give those persons a fair equivalent for their services, then it is our bounden duty to support by all honorable means the measures proposed by the gentleman;

if, however, the employer can make it appear that he is unable to reform his business to our wishes, from circumstances over which he has no control, then we must be satisfied that our efforts will be unavailing.

We are aware that this country, from a mistaken policy, has become a competitor with England in the manufacturing system. Our tariff was laid in order that the basis of that system might be established; every expedient necessary to insure its success had been resorted to by its advocates – every advantage has been taken of wind, water and poverty, to fasten it upon us. The example of England could not deter our statesmen from embarking in this visionary project. All the miseries of her laboring classes were overlooked; and we were told that her riches accrued from the industry and inventive genius of her people. It is true, sir, that her wealth has arisen from these sources; but it is equally true, that the moral degradation of her people may be attributed to her manufacturing system. No one will dispute that the same causes produce the like effects. I am sensible that the staunch advocates of this system might have foreseen its consequences; this grievance which Mr. Douglass complains of among the females, is one of the beautiful effects of this invigorating and republican system. It is one of the machines which has been introduced to jeopardise our liberties.

Mr. C. thought the proposition to improve the prices, or regulate the hours of labour in the manufacturies, could not at this time be safely entered upon. We are aware, said he, that the compromise bill agrees that a reduction of the tariff shall gradually take place. Well, sir, this of itself will prove that the American employer must reduce the price of operatives' labour, or increase their hours, so as to meet the European capitalist in the

market. If he does not take such a course, it is evident that he must relinquish his business altogether. Viewing things in this light I cannot see that we can remedy the evil Mr. Douglass complains of. If our capitalists will continue, the only hope that I can promise them and those in their employ, arises from the present agitated state of England. If the people of that country should revolutionize, and obtain a more liberal government, one of the first measures will be to secure to the laboring man a fair equivalent for his labor; the price of manufactured articles will rise in equal ratio, and the capitalist will be obliged to demand an advance in our market. This desirable event would do more to promote the advancement of the American manufacturies, than all the high pressure duties of government.

Mr. Ferral was agreed that the factory system was one of no small consequence; indeed, he knew of none which had been so much overlooked. When it was commenced in this country, when the "American System" became the lion of the day, the pattern of England was held up, as one worthy of our emulation. We were told of the wealth she had acquired, and was yet acquiring, by means of her factory system, and urged to follow her splendid example. But they forgot to tell us, that the wealth was to the few—that about three-fourths of the nation were literally starving—perishing for the very necessaries of life!

Mr. F. regarded the factory system which had been introduced as subversive of liberty—as calculated to change the character of a people from that of a bold and free, to one enervated, dependent, and slavish. Any one familiar with our factories must regard them as contagious goals, where the dependent inmates are confined in a state of servile slavery, and in impure air;

where their physical powers necessarily become enfeebled, and their mental energies wasted and enervated. Even were health maintained, how is it possible for the mind to expand and improve, which is engaged from 14 to 16 hours per day in watching a few threads, or the moving of a shuttle? All their waking hours are thus occupied; and what if they spend eight, ten or fifteen years in this way? The longer they exist, the more contracted must their minds become. The older they grow the less capacitated to act as freemen? What citizens for a republic is it making of them? It was destroying every requisite, every feature, characterising freemen!

Mr. F. thought the factory system might be continued with safety. The people may control it; but it must be so changed, that those who labour shall be better protected. At present, the capitalist had all the protection, all the privileges, and all the power: he can sit in his counting-room, and determine the destinies of hundreds, or perhaps of thousands – can reduce the measure of their pittance – add to their hours of labour – or turn them out to beggary! . . .

Every patriot, every friend of freedom, must deprecate a system which fastens slavery upon future generations. He hoped the delegates would bear in mind the evils which this pernicious system is entailing upon society: and, although they could not act as a Convention, he hoped every individual would feel himself obligated, as a citizen of this free republic, to use all diligence for the entire reformation of this system.

(e) CONSTITUTION

The Man, Sept. 2, 1834. This constitution was adopted August 28, 1834.

CONSTITUTION. ARTICLE 1st. This association shall

be styled the National Trades' Union of the United States.

ARTICLE 2nd. *Section* 1.–The officers of this Union shall consist of a President, two Vice Presidents, a Recording and a Corresponding Secretary, and a Committee of Finance, to consist of one from each Union represented in the National Union.

Section 2.–Three judges shall be appointed to superintend all elections of this convention, and report the result to the presiding officers.

Section 3.–Candidates for office shall be nominated in open meeting, and shall be voted for with written ballots; and a majority of the votes given shall be necessary to a choice; but if no candidate receives such majority, then the convention shall proceed to ballot for the two highest.

ARTICLE 3d. *Section* 1.–This Union shall be composed of delegates from the several Trades' Unions in the United States, the number not to exceed one from each Association or Society, and to be elected in such manner as the several Unions may direct, and to hold office for one year.

Section 2.–Each delegate before taking his seat in the convention shall present a certificate of his election signed by the President and Secretary of the Trades' Union to which he belongs.

ARTICLE 4th. The objects of this Union shall be, to recommend such measures to the various Unions represented herein as may tend to advance the moral and intellectual condition and pecuniary interests of the laboring classes; promote the establishment of Trades' Unions in every section of the United States; and also to publish and disseminate such information as may be useful to Mechanics and Working Men generally; and

to unite and harmonize the efforts of all the productive classes of our country.

ARTICLE 5th. The duty of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Union, preserve order therein, put all motions to vote when seconded, and shall have the casting vote when the question is equally divided.

ARTICLE 6th. The duty of the Recording Secretary shall be to keep accurate minutes of the proceedings of the Union, and do all other duties appertaining to his office.

ARTICLE 7th. The duty of the Corresponding Secretary shall be to write all letters for the Union, and report at the annual meeting such correspondence as he may have held.

ARTICLE 8th. The duties of the Finance Committee shall be to compute the expenses of the National Union, and each Member thereof shall draw on the funds of the Union to which he belongs for his proportion of the expense.

ARTICLE 9th. There shall be annual meetings of the Union held and the regularly constituted officers shall have the power of calling the Union together whenever required by the application of a majority of the Unions herein represented.

RULES OF ORDER. 1. The President shall take the chair at the hour appointed and call the Convention to order.

2. The roll shall be called; and a majority shall be necessary to the transaction of business.

3. The minutes of the proceedings of the preceding day shall be read.

4. No motion shall be received unless seconded, and no debate shall be allowed on any question until it shall have been stated from the chair.

5. When two or more members rise to speak, the presiding officer shall decide which shall have the precedence.

6. All disputed questions of order shall be submitted to the Convention; when a majority shall decide without debate.

7. Delegates shall invariably address the chair, and confine their remarks to the subject under debate.

8. The Convention shall meet at 9 and close at 12 o'clock at noon; and shall meet at 3 and close at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, unless otherwise ordered by a majority of the members present. All motions for adjournment shall be decided without debate.

3. THE CONVENTION OF 1835

(a) PROCEEDINGS

National Trades' Union (New York), Oct. 10, 1835, p. 2, col. 1-6; p. 3, col. 1-3.

CONVENTION OF THE TRADES' UNION. Thursday, Oct. 1.

MORNING SESSION. The Delegates from the different States appeared and took their seats. On motion of Mr. Slamm, of N. York, the Convention proceeded to organize.

Mr. H. D. Bristol, of N. York, stated that Mr. Ely Moore, the President of the Convention, was necessarily absent from the city. Mr. Hamitt, of Boston, the 1st Vice President, was also absent. Mr. Ferrall, of Pa., the 2d Vice President, took the chair.

On motion of Mr. Thompson, of Pa., John Commerford, of New York, was appointed to act as Recording Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Milo, of Albany, the Delegates were called upon to present their credentials. Mr. A. Jackson, of Baltimore, moved that they be read by States—which, on motion, was adopted. Upon receiving the credentials, it appeared there were twenty-six Delegates from the State of New York, five from New Jersey, five from Pennsylvania, and five from Maryland.

On motion of Mr. Thompson, Mr. Seth Luther, of Massachusetts, was invited to take a seat as a corresponding member of this Convention. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. . . Credentials were then presented from the following Societies: the Asso-

ciated Weavers of New York, appointing Mr. Joseph Thompson; from the Ladies' Cordwainers of New York, Wm. E. Bogart; from the Newark Union, Enos M. Leonard; from the Brush Makers of New York, Joseph Hufty; from the Curriers' Society of Newark, Philip Wilson.

On motion, it was then resolved that this Convention proceed to the election of officers. The presiding officer appointed as judges of election, A. I. W. Jackson of Baltimore, William Thompson of Philadelphia, William E. Bogart of New York.

Mr. John Ferrall of Pennsylvania (being the only person nominated for President) was, upon counting the votes, declared by the judges to be unanimously elected to preside over the union for the ensuing year.

The Convention then proceeded to nominate candidates for the office of 1st Vice President. The following Gentlemen were then named: A. I. W. Jackson, Nathaniel B. Gardner, F. Milo, and William Cameron. On the ballots being counted, Mr. A. J. W. Jackson was declared elected. . .

A credential was then presented from the Stone Cutters' Association of New York, informing the convention of the appointment of Mr. Hugh Gallagher as their representative.

The Convention then proceeded to elect a Corresponding Secretary; and on counting the ballots there appeared 27 votes for Mr. Slamm and for Mr. Hogan 17 votes. Mr. Slamm was accordingly declared as elected.

On motion of Mr. A. I. W. Jackson, it was carried, that the different Unions appoint one member from each of their respective bodies, to constitute a Finance Committee. On motion, a recess of ten minutes was

approved to carry the said appointment into execution.

The term of the recess having expired, on motion of Mr. W. R. Erwin, Mr. Wm. Cameron of Schenectady, was appointed to represent the Union of that place, there being no other representative sent to this Convention from that body.

A credential was then presented from the Mechanics of Boston; from which it appeared, that Mr. Francis A. Sawyer and Mr. Samuel Virgin were appointed as their representatives. On motion, the credential was accepted, and the delegates were invited to take seats with the Convention. . .

Friday, October 2 . . . On motion, it was resolved, that an invitation be given to all Editors and Reporters of newspapers, friendly to the Convention and its objects, to take a seat in the Convention, and that Seats be provided for them by the Sergeant at arms. . .

On motion, it was agreed that a Committee of three be appointed to wait on the Editors of the *National Trades' Union* and *Working Man's Advocate* and invite them to attend the Convention.

A Resolution was offered by Mr. Bristol, which elicited a lengthy debate. An amendment was submitted by Mr. Jackson which was finally adopted.

RESOLVED, that this Convention recommend that each of the Unions herein represented, appoint one person to constitute a Committee of General Correspondence. . .

On the Officers taking their seats the President, Mr. Ferral, addressed the Convention in a very eloquent manner, and concluded by thanking them for the high honor they had conferred upon him.

On motion of Thomas Hogan, the proceedings of the first session of the National Convention were read, and approved of. . .

On motion of Seth Luther, the "Proceedings of the Government and Citizens of Philadelphia, on the reduction of the hours of labor, and increase of wages," were laid before the members.

On motion, the thanks of the Convention were presented to Mr. Seth Luther, for the use of the above mentioned pamphlets.

On motion of Mr. J. Commerford, it was resolved, that a committee, consisting of five, be appointed to take up the unfinished business of the last session of this body, and report thereon. Messrs. Wm. Thompson, Leonard, Luther, Gallagher, and Paddon, were appointed said committee.

On motion of Wm. Thompson, resolved, that a committee of five be appointed, to devise means to further the formation of Trade Societies and Trades' Unions throughout the United States; and that said committee be denominated, "Committee of Ways and Means." Messrs. Wm. Thompson, Moulton, Erwin, Luther and Murphy, were appointed said committee.

On motion of Thomas Hogan, resolved, that a committee of five be appointed to suggest such measures to this Convention, as may be thought necessary to promote the welfare of the working men. Messrs. Wilson, Milo, Remington, Hogan, and Commerford, were appointed said committee.

Mr. Murphy gave notice, that he would bring before the Convention a resolution relative to a reduction in the hours of labor on the public works. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. . . The resolution of Mr. Murphy, relative to a reduction of the hours of labor,

being in order, he prefaced it with the following remarks:

MR. PRESIDENT. I would beg leave to call the attention of this Convention to a memorial I hold in my hand, which was presented to the Secretary of the Navy by the Mechanics of the cities of New York and Brooklyn, praying for a reduction of the hours of labor on the public works: which memorial he saw fit to refer to the Board of Navy Commissioners, who returned the petition to the petitioners, informing them that it would not be for the interest of the government to accede to the petitioners' demand, and that they must refuse them what they asked for.

I now conceive it to be the duty of the representatives of the Mechanics, assembled in this Convention, to address the next Congress on this subject, setting forth the injustice of taking our property in larger quantities than is for our interest to give, and at the same time refusing to give any more for it than other employers are giving for smaller parcels. I look upon it to be an insult to justice and humanity, to compel a man to work from twelve to fifteen hours a day, under the pretence that it would not be for his interest to work less, as well as a perversion of the constitution of our country, which guarantees to every citizen the protection of "life, liberty, or property." And as the mechanic is not possessed of any other property than his labor, he has an undoubted right to dispose of it on such terms and in such quantities as may answer his convenience, and in so doing he has a right to be protected.

When Congress delegates power to any officer, or set of officers, they always reserve the right to withdraw that power when they see fit. If they have delegated

the power to the Board of Navy Commissioners, to say how many hours the citizen employed in the government works shall work, it is now high time to withdraw that power, when they become petty tyrants, and pretend to dictate to the government what is for their interest; for I hold that the people constitute the government, and that those who hold office are nothing more or less than servants of the people.

I also hold that it is the sacred right of freemen to petition for a redress of their grievances; and that when any class of citizens so petition that their petition should get a fair and impartial hearing. When any public officer refuses or neglects to give it that consideration, he tramples on one of the most sacred and invaluable rights of freemen, and he is no longer worthy to be considered as a gentleman, nor fit to be an officer of this republic. I now ask, has the Secretary of the Navy, or the Board of Navy Commissioners, treated the petition of the Mechanics with that respect which it deserves? Have they not placed themselves in the attitude of selfish employers? when they should be the first that would set the example and manifest a spirit of liberty, for which our government is so famed. Should they not, as officers of the nation, study the comfort and happiness of its citizens, and endeavor to do every thing in their power to elevate their condition? Allow me then to inquire of the impartial observer if they have done what the duties of their offices required of them? I answer fearlessly, they have not; they have abused a trust reposed in them, as officers of the republic.

It now becomes the duty of every mechanic to petition the immediate representatives of the people for a reduction of the hours of labor on the public works.

If this is not done we shall find that men will not remain there, as long as they can get work in any other place; and it will be bare necessity that will compel them to work from twelve to fifteen hours, while other mechanics are only asked to work ten. Let us suppose that Congress would not grant the petition, and that mechanical labor was withdrawn from the market. What would be the consequence? Why, we would find that in a short period this great and flourishing nation would be reduced to mere nothing. Since, then, that labor is the source of all the real wealth of the nation, and furnishes all the essentials, necessaries and comforts of life, why should the laborer be refused time to partake of the comforts which his labor so plentifully bestows on all? . . .

The right that a mechanic has to dispose of his labor on such terms and in such quantities as may answer his convenience, has been so often and ably discussed, that it would be presumption in me to attempt to say any thing on a subject so universally admitted and so generally acceded to. I am of opinion that Congress cannot deny us this right. For when the Navy officers petitioned for an advance of their salaries, that they might be able to support the "dignity of American Citizens abroad," they granted them their request. And can it be presumed that they will deny the citizen Mechanic a reduction in the hours of labor, so as to enable him to enjoy the comforts of an "American Citizen" at home? No. For, Mechanics, we now have a representative in the National Legislature who, to use his own words, "will neither shrink from the task, or despair of success;" and with such an advocate as this, we have but little to fear from the aristocracy of the House.

The following is the resolution of Mr. Murphy, as adopted:

RESOLVED, that a committee of one from each Trades' Union here represented, be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, requesting a reduction of the hours of labor on the public works. Messrs. Murphy of New York, Kehoe of Baltimore, Scribner of Newark, Ferral of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Schenectady, Schermerhorn of Albany, and Sawyer of Boston, were appointed said committee.

Mr. Erwin offered the following resolution, which was accepted, and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means: resolved, that it be recommended to the different Trades' Unions represented in this Convention, to cause a fund to be raised, to support and sustain them in their exertions to promote the cause of the working man against the encroachments of a monied aristocracy.

Mr. Thompson, of the Committee on Unfinished Business, reported, that the committee on the "Address to the Working Men" had not fulfilled their duties; and, that the committee on "Education" were to report at this session of the Convention.

Seth Luther then offered a resolution, calling upon the committee on the "Address to the Working Men," to give cause why the address was not published.

John Ferral excused the committee for the non-performance of their duties: which excuse was, on motion, declared satisfactory.

Thomas Hogan gave his reasons why the committee on "Education," appointed at the last session of the National Convention, had not reported: and, on motion, they were also declared satisfactory.

The committee on the resolution of Thomas Hogan,

relative to taking measures to promote the welfare of the working men, reported through Mr. Wilson the chairman: which report was accepted.

The committee appointed to suggest measures for the consideration of this Convention, which may tend to promote the general welfare of the working men of the United States, respectfully report, that they have considered the subject, and would propose the following resolutions to be adopted by this Convention:

1. That a committee be appointed to prepare an Address to the working men of the United States, urging upon them the necessity of forming Trades' Unions in every section of the country; and also of using all honorable means to enlarge these institutions where they now exist.

2. That this Convention recommend to every Trades' Union in the United States, and also to working men where no such institutions exist, the importance of selecting persons to deliver lectures to the producing classes, on their social, intellectual, and pecuniary condition inasmuch as we conceive it would be highly beneficial to their interests.

3. That the whole proceedings of the last National Convention, and of the present, be published in pamphlet form; and that the Finance Committee of each Union be directed to draw upon the Unions here represented for their proportion of the expense of said publication.

4. That we recommend to the different Trades' Unions throughout the country, to oppose energetically and honorably the present system of State Prison labor, and endeavor by all honest means to prevent the parsimony of our state Governments from bringing the convict into competition with the interests of the already too much oppressed mechanic.

5. That we recommend to each Trades' Union the propriety of directing each Society to fix a regular price for their labor, so that an equality of wages may be established throughout the country.

PHILIP WILSON, FRANCIS MILO, F. T. REMINGTON, THOMAS HOGAN, J. COMMERFORD – Committee.

On motion of Wm. Thompson, a committee was appointed on that part of the report requiring them to prepare an address to the working men of the United States, urging upon them the necessity of forming Trades' Unions in every section of the country; and also of using all honorable means to enlarge those already in existence. Messrs. Luther, Wm. Thompson, and — Sawyer, were appointed said committee.

The other parts of the report were then taken up, and unanimously adopted, with the exception of the one relative to the State Prison system, which, together with the resolutions of Messrs. Gillespie and S. C. Thompson upon the same subject, were referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Cameron, Boggs, Milo, Virgin, Wilson, S. C. Thompson, and Cooper.

Julius Moultin and Wm. Smith offered resolutions of similar import; which were referred to a committee of five, consisting of Messrs. Smith, S. C. Thompson, Moultin, Bunker, and Kehoe. The purport of their resolutions was, that the respective Unions be instructed by this Convention to obtain a correct account of the number and condition of journeymen in the different cities and towns in which Unions are formed, and report at the next annual meeting of the Convention.

Mr. Cameron, of Schenectady, offered the following preamble and resolution, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, this Convention having implicit confidence in the course pursued by their late President, and know-

ing him to be a warm friend to the interest of the producing classes – they therefore

RESOLVE, that a special Committee of three be appointed to wait upon the Hon. Ely Moore, and request his attendance here, as a member of this Convention. The Committee consisted of Messrs. Cameron, Scribner, and Commerford. . .

Mr. Seth Luther offered a preamble and resolution relative to the condition of the operatives in cotton and other manufactories; which, for want of time, were also laid on the table.

Mr. Wm. Thompson offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

RESOLVED, that a committee of one from each Union be appointed to revise the Constitution and By-Laws. The Convention then appointed Messrs. Wm. Thompson, Remington, Francis Gallagher, Leonard, Virgin, Bogert, and Cameron. . .

Saturday, October 3 . . . On motion of Mr. Sawyer, resolved, that Mr. Theophilus Fisk of Boston, be invited to take a seat in this Convention as an honorary member, and that a Committee of one be appointed to introduce Mr. Fisk; when Francis A. Sawyer was appointed said committee – Mr. Fisk of Boston was then introduced, when, after a brief and pertinent address by him, which was answered by the Chair, he took his seat in this Convention.

A Resolution was presented by John Brown of the Sail Makers of New York, wishing to memoralize Congress; which was referred to the Committee on Memorials.

By Julius Moultin, resolved, that a Committee be appointed to enquire into the causes of the rise and depression of Labor in the United States, and report the

same to this Convention. The following persons were appointed said committee—Messrs. Moulton, Bogart and McCalley. . .

The Committee on Ways and Means then read their report; when, on motion, the resolutions of said report were acted upon separately. A Credential was presented and read from the Glass Cutter's Society of New York, appointing John Camblin their Delegate, which was approved and the delegate invited to take his seat in this Convention. (Report of Ways and Means resumed.) The resolutions were all adopted with the exception of the 3d Article, which, on motion, was ordered to lie on the table for the present. After the adoption of the aforesaid resolutions, a motion was made that the 3d Article be returned to the Committee for their reconsideration.

On motion, resolved, that John Commerford of N. York be added to the Committee on address to the Mechanics of the United States, &c. The invitation Committee then introduced Mr. Ely Moore, when, after a brief address, he took a seat in this Convention.

Mr. Seth Luther presented a resolution as follows:

RESOLVED, that a committee be appointed to report the progress which the ten hour system may have made in the United States during the past year—and also what cities and towns have adopted the ten hour system, at any period of time previous to the present date, and also report what causes have produced the adoption of the ten hour system, in order that the Convention may know what influence Trades' Unions have had in producing such a desirable amelioration in the condition of the Working class, which was adopted, and the following committee appointed: W. R. Erwin, Albany; Mr. Leonard of Newark; J. J. Johnston, Balti-

more; Paddon, N. York; Cameron, Schenectady; Hogan, Philadelphia; and Virgin, Boston.

Mr. Commerford then offered his resolution, with amendments, which was referred to the Committee on Constitution and By-Laws. . .

By John Commerford, resolved, that, considering the disposal of the Public Lands of the most vital importance to the Laboring classes of this country, a Committee of one from each Union be appointed to prepare a Memorial to be presented to the next Congress of the United States, and that said Committee submit the same to this Convention. The Committee are as follows: John Commerford, New York; P. Wilson, Newark; Johnston, Baltimore; Cameron, Schenectady; Remington, Albany; Farrell, Penn; Sawyer, Boston.

On motion, resolved, that the Delegates who may be prepared to report the condition of the various Unions and Trades be now called upon to make the same to this Convention. The Delegates then proceeded to report and continued until a motion was carried for adjournment to half past 2 o'clock, p.m. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. . . The Committee on Ways and Means reported the Article substituted in place of Article 3d, which had been returned to them for re-consideration, which report was accepted; also two resolutions were added, which, on motion, were acted upon separately – when, after a short discussion, they were adopted.

Whereas, Trades' Unions and Trades' Societies have been found highly conducive to the welfare and happiness of the working classes, not only in protecting them from the constantly-increasing encroachments of capital on the rights of labour, but in throwing off the weight of excessive toil imposed on the producers of all real

wealth, by the non-producing class; and whereas, this Convention believe that the formation and permanency of Trade Societies and Trades' Unions, presents the only security against the entire degradation of the whole mass of the working men in the United States to the level of mere beasts of burthen, similar to the situation to which insatiable avarice has reduced many of the labouring classes in Europe; and whereas, this Convention have seen, with the highest satisfaction, the very great improvement in the mental and moral condition of the working men in our beloved country, in consequence of the formation of Trades' Societies and Trades' Unions; and whereas, the competition in the various branches of mechanical labour is constantly increasing, both by the natural increase of our population and emigration, it becomes highly important that we adopt just and efficient measures to secure to each and every operative in the United States the enjoyment of the fruits of their own honest industry; therefore,

RESOLVED, that a board be formed, to be called the Board of Commissioners for the Protection of Labour; whose duty it shall be to take measures to form Trade Societies and Trades' Unions in all cities and towns in the United States, on such principles as are recognized by the National Trades' Union.

RESOLVED, that the Board be authorized and empowered to procure short, well-written essays, on the principles of Trades' Unions, and print the same in pamphlet form, for the purpose of distribution.

RESOLVED, that the Board of Commissioners be composed of one from each Trades' Union, and that each Union, by the representatives in the National Convention, nominate its own commissioner; and the said Board to be elected by ballot; that the officers of the

several Trades' Unions be a committee for the purpose of advising with their own commissioner, and that the board be required to meet quarterly at such places as they may from time to time designate; all vacancies to be filled by the respective Trades' Unions in which such vacancies shall occur.

RESOLVED, that this Board be empowered to employ an agent or agents, who shall travel and deliver lectures on the formation of Trades' Unions, and to render every assistance in his or their power, under the direction and control of the Board, to accomplish the objects which the National Trades' Union have in view.

RESOLVED, that for the purpose of raising funds for the use of this Board, in performing the duties devolving upon it, that it be recommended to the several Trades' Unions to assess the sum of two cents per month on each and every member of the Trades attached; this assessment to be paid monthly into the Treasury of each Trades' Union, subject to the order of the Board of Commissioners.

RESOLVED, that the Board be instructed to report quarterly to each Trades' Union contributing to this fund, an account of receipts, expenditures, and progress, of the Board; and to make a general and full report at the annual meeting of the National Trades' Union.

RESOLVED, that power shall be granted to Trades' Unions which may be formed in the course of the ensuing year, for them to choose and elect a Commissioner from each of the Unions thus formed; provided always, that such Unions comply with the rules and regulations under which the Board of Commissioners are required to act.

WM. THOMPSON, JULIUS P. MOULTON,
WALTER R. ERWIN, SETH LUTHER,
WM. MURPHY – Committee.

A motion was made, that the Convention go into a nomination for a Board of Commissioners, and that a recess of ten minutes for that purpose be taken. The following persons were nominated for election: Mr. Virgin of Boston, Cameron of Schenectady, Erwin of Albany, Bogart of New York, Leonard of Newark, S. C. Thompson of Philadelphia, and Marley of Baltimore; and upon counting the ballots, the above-named candidates were declared to be duly elected, as a Board of Commissioners.

The Committee's Report on State Prison Labour was then read and accepted; when, on motion, it was decided that the resolutions be acted upon separately. A long discussion here ensued, in which several members took part. The Resolutions, with Amendments, were finally adopted. The Committee, to whom was referred the several resolutions relative to State Prison Labour,

Beg leave to report, that they have given the subject that consideration which in their opinion it so seriously demands; and, after investigating the many aggravated evils arising therefrom, and believing them to demand, if not the immediate action, at least a general inquiry, in order that all who are interested may have a proper opportunity of understanding a question which has so long agitated the producing classes, and which involves their best interests; the Committee therefore recommend to the Convention the following resolutions for its adoption:

RESOLVED, that the Convention recommend to the operatives in the various sections of our country, when aggrieved by Prison Labour, to use all laudable means against its increase, and take such measures as are in conformity with law and good order, to eventually abolish the present system of employing convicts; and recommend such other measures as will not affect the work-

ing classes of these States, in a moral or pecuniary point of view.

RESOLVED, that this Convention appoint a committee of one from each State herein represented; and that this body also recommend to the working men of other States not here represented, to appoint a like committee, whose duty it shall be to ascertain how many convicts are confined within their different prisons, also how such convicts are employed, and in what manner the labour produced by them is disposed of, and at what prices; and whose duty it shall be to report at the next meeting of this Convention. All of which is respectfully submitted.

WILLIAM CAMERON, SAMUEL C. THOMPSON,
PHILIP WILSON, H. D. COOPER,
WILLIAM BOGGS—Committee.

A communication was received and read from the Corresponding Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute of the city of New York, tendering the use of their Reading Room to this Convention, during the remainder of their session, which was accepted; and, on motion, the thanks of the Convention was ordered to be returned to the Mechanics' Institute. . .

By L. D. Slamm, resolved, that a committee of three be appointed from the delegation of the city of New York, to draft a Memorial to be presented to the next Legislature of this State, asking the passage of a law to cause to be marked all Locks and other articles which may thereafter be made in the State Prison, with the name of the contractor and the prison in which they may be manufactured; that the committee be authorised to prepare their Memorial at any time between this and the next meeting of the Legislature; and that it be the duty of the committee to present the same at the next

session of that body. Referred to the several Trades' Unions of the State of N. York.

On motion, resolved, that we adjourn until Monday next, at eight o'clock, a.m. The Convention then formed in procession, to visit the Mechanics Institute Fair at Castle Garden, under the direction of the Sergeant-at-arms.

MORNING SESSION. Monday, Oct. 5th, 1835. . . On motion of Wm. Thompson of Phila., John Commerford of New York, and Robert McCally of Phila., were added to the Committee on Constitution and By Laws. Adopted.

By Seth Luther, chairman of committee, on address to the working men of the United States, that John Farrell of Penn. be added to said committee. Adopted. . .

Unfinished reports were then acted upon; when, on motion, the resolution with amendments on cotton manufactories, as offered by Seth Luther, was brought before the Convention. Mr. Luther addressed the meeting in a very lengthy and interesting speech, and the resolution with amendments was adopted.

Whereas, this Convention consider it a subject of vital importance, that the condition of the operatives in cotton and other manufactories in the United States should be essentially ameliorated, as we are satisfied that the present system of manufacturing is a system of mental and physical slavery, to which the sons and daughters of freemen ought never to submit; therefore, resolved, that a committee be appointed to report on the condition of the operatives in cotton and other mills, and also the hand-loom weavers, relative to the hours of labour required, the compensation received, and opportunities allowed for mental improvement; and that the com-

mittee be authorised to publish their report during the recess of the Convention.

The following persons were nominated a committee, to carry the resolution into effect: Seth Luther, Wm. Thompson, John Farrell, Samuel C. Thompson, and Joseph Thompson.

A committee to act upon State Prison report was appointed, consisting of one from each State; Commerford of New York, T. Hogan of Penn., Virgin of Mass., Kehoe of Baltimore, and Gardner of N. Jersey.

Report of Memorialists to Congress, on the reduction of the hours of labour on the public works, adopted with resolutions:

To the SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES of the United States of America.

The Memorial of the National Trades' Union Convention convened in the city of New York respectfully showeth, that your Petitioners are the representatives of the labouring classes from various parts of the Union, convened for the purpose of improving their moral, social, civil, and intellectual condition, throughout the community, and to devise means whereby we may remove the grievances under which they labour. And as we consider that the present practice of labouring on the government works from sunrise to sunset is attended with considerable inconvenience and hardship to the workmen, as well as of no interest to the government; we therefore deem it our duty to petition you, as the immediate representatives of the people, for a reduction of the hours of labour on the public works throughout the United States. We are of opinion, that ten hours a day is fully sufficient for any labouring man to work; that more than this is attended with serious consequences to the workmen; and that, in many cases, weakness, loss

of health, and even life, are its known and frequent results; and deprives the labourer of time to attend to his family and duties as a citizen, and allows none for mental improvement; and that, as the ten hour system has been so generally adopted throughout the Union, it would be bad policy for the Government to adhere to the old practice, as they have had the best and most skilful workmen employed heretofore; and that, if they now pursue the old custom, they will not be able to procure any but indifferent workmen, as the best and most intelligent men will not work from twelve to fourteen hours a day on the Government works, as long as private individuals only require them to work ten; and that, as a natural consequence, all the government work will be of an inferior kind.

And, as the object of Government should be the happiness and comfort of its citizens, it is in duty bound, when any of them are oppressed, to remove all just cause of complaint, as far as in its power lies; and as those governments have crumbled to the earth that have studied the accumulation of wealth, instead of the comfort and happiness of its producers; we therefore believe that, as we constitute the bone and sinew of the nation, our complaints should be attended to; and that we should be allowed time to attend to the duties of our families, and the cultivation of our minds; as experience has proved that, to be virtuous, man must be intelligent, and that vice is always found to exist in proportion to the ignorance that pervades society. We conceive it to be highly necessary that the labouring classes employed on the Government works should be allowed time for mental improvement, and therefore request that the hours of labour on the public works shall not exceed ten.

We do not conceive that we demand any thing from

the government but our rights, which have been acknowledged and acceded to by the generality of employers throughout the Union; and, as our claims are founded on truth, justice, and humanity, we consider that the cause of complaint should be removed: and that our government should practise those principles of liberality for which it is so famed, and prove to the world that it practises them in fact as well as in theory. All which is respectfully submitted.

WILLIAM MURPHY, PHILIP KEHOE, ASA SCRIBNER, JOHN FARRELL, EDWARD A. SCHERMERHORN, FRANCIS A. SAWYER, WILLIAM CAMERON – Committee.

RESOLVED, that the report of the Committee be adopted.

On motion of Wm. Murphy, resolved, that the memorial just presented be signed by the members of this Convention; and that the same be forwarded to Mr. Ely Moore, Member of Congress; and that he be requested to use all honourable means to ensure its passage through the House of Representatives of the United States.

On motion the resolutions lying on the table were taken up and acted upon as follows:

By Joseph Thompson, resolved, that it is the decided opinion of this Convention, that nothing would tend more powerfully to extend and strengthen the Union, and facilitate generally the interests of working men, than the establishment of a well-organized and regular system of communication and correspondence between the several Trades' Unions; by the means of which the combined intellect of the mechanics of the United States would be concentrated in one grand focus, whereby they would be enabled to make a united and continued effort until they had triumphed over every species of injustice and oppression.

By the same, resolved, that the most proper and most convenient channel for such communications and correspondence, which is at present within the reach of the Convention, is the *National Trades' Union* newspaper, published in this city; and, therefore, this Convention recommend, that all public communications and correspondence between the several Trades' Unions, shall be conducted through the medium of that Journal.

F. T. Remington, resolved, that the more effectually to disseminate among the working classes the objects and advantages of Trades' Unions, this Convention recommend, that the different delegates urge it upon their constituents to forward their names as subscribers to the *National Trades' Union* newspaper, published in the city of New York.

N. B. Gardiner, resolved, that this Convention recommend to the various societies, to attach themselves to some Union in the State to which they belong, when convenient. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. . . On motion, that the resolutions lying on the table be taken up – which, after some discussion were disposed of as follows: Representations of Local Unions – lost. On the system of Apprentices – indefinitely postponed.

On motion of William Thompson – resolved, that this Convention recommend to all trades connected with the several Unions, to form their constitutions and articles of compact on such principles as will induce all of the same trade to unite themselves with the society of the place to which they belong; provided always, that the constitution thereof, be in accordance with the constitution of the National Trades' Union. Adopted.

On motion of L. D. Slamm – resolved, that a committee of three be appointed from the delegation of the

city of New York, whose duty it shall be to revise and cause to be published the proceedings of this Convention, agreeably to the resolutions already passed, and that a copy be furnished to each society composing each Trades' Union represented in this Convention. Levi D. Slamm, John Commerford and William Murphy, were appointed.

It was on motion – resolved, that the Secretary, E. A. Schermerhorn, be added to the aforesaid committee.

The motion of S. C. Thompson – on correspondence with foreign Unions, was, after a lengthy discussion, withdrawn.

The report of the committee on the rise and depression of labor, was read and accepted.

On motion of William E. Bogart – resolved, that this Convention recommend to the several Trades' Unions, to adopt such measures as will connect more closely the different associations of each trade or art, for the purpose of equalizing the prices of labor throughout the various places in which such associations are located. . .

The following preamble and resolution, by Thomas Hogan, were adopted. Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the multiplying descriptions of labor for females, is alike injurious to the moral and pecuniary condition of both male and female. A moral injury, because the youthful female is driven from her home, into workshops, to earn her own living – forced to associate with men of all descriptions, and sure to acquire the ruder habits of the males; and at the same time untutored in the deceits of the world, and unfitted by her situation and knowledge to resist the temptations to which she is exposed; thus losing all that sacred influence which it is the peculiar prerogative of

woman to exercise over man – the inevitable consequence of which is the destruction of the social nature of each. A pecuniary injury, because the extreme low prices given for female labor, afford scarcely sufficient to satisfy the necessary wants of life, and create a destructive competition with the male laborer; therefore,

RESOLVED, that we recommend to our brethren, throughout the United States, to oppose by all honest means, the multiplying of all description of labor for females – inasmuch, as the competition it creates with the males, tends inevitably to impoverish both. . .

EVENING SESSION. . . The committee to revise the Constitution and By-Laws reported the following, which were adopted:

The committee appointed to revise the Constitution and By-Laws of the "National Trades' Union of the United States," after having given to the subject such attention as their limited time and means would admit, present the following report: [Constitution follows Proceedings.]

The same committee returned the resolutions of John Commerford, which had been referred to them. They were acted upon and adopted.

Deeming it as an essential and important principle with the mechanics and working men attached to our Societies, to carry the benefits of our united strength the more effectually into operation throughout the various Unions of these States, this Convention feel convinced that some plan should be devised which will ensure the successful attainment of this object. The experience through which we have passed, in the recent strikes which have taken place, cannot fail to direct us. The failure of our friends in some of their demands, cannot be ascribed to any other cause than

that of hasty and undigested measures, conceiving the defeats arising from such sources as easily remedied, and being convinced that propositions for the prevention of future embarrassments will be readily agreed to and supported by the individual members of our different Unions. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that whenever it shall be considered necessary by any one of our trades to regulate prices or advance wages, so that there may be a corresponding uniformity of prices in all places where Unions exist, it shall then be the duty of each Union to concentrate and use all its influence, both with opinion and money, to cherish and maintain such trade until the employers yield to its just demands. Adopted.

RESOLVED, that when the employers of any town, village, or city, shall endeavor, by combination, to defeat a trade from obtaining its just demands, the Union to which the said Society belongs, shall be called; and if ample proofs be adduced that a combination has been entered into on the part of the employers, it shall then be the duty of such Union to forward such information to the various Unions; and if, after the acceptance of a communication of this nature, it shall be considered expedient, a notice shall be then transmitted from each Union, recommending the officers of the Nat. Trades' Union to instruct the Union whose Society has been attacked by a combination of employers, to make one general strike, until such employers cease their hostility.

RESOLVED, that it be recommended to the different Unions here represented, that we may the more effectually maintain a healthy equilibrium of demand and supply—and as it frequently occurs, that in some sections of our country, owing to the density of operatives,

the least fluctuation in trade, produced from dishonest speculations or other causes, is immediately made to operate to the injury of the laborer, by an attempt to curtail his wages – therefore, in order that our objects may be sustained, and our brethren secured from the visitation of evils arising from such circumstances, it shall be made one of the specific duties of the conductors of correspondence, to ascertain and provide employment for all such as may choose to emigrate to parts of the country where the laborer's worth is more fully felt and appreciated.

Committee on Public Lands reported they would proceed to draft a memorial as soon as the necessary information could be obtained. . .

By Mr. B. S. Gillespie. Resolved, that the delegates report on the Penitentiary System of their respective States, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the laws for the punishment of crimes are so construed, that justice is satisfied when the culprit has been sentenced to, and become a mechanic. Laid on the table. . .

MORNING SESSION. Tuesday, Oct. 6th. . . On motion. Resolved, that the Convention go into an election for Treasurer. John Commerford and John Brown were nominated as candidates. Upon counting the ballots the judges of election declared John Commerford elected as Treasurer for this Union.

The Committee on ten hour system made the following report which was accepted:

In Boston the ten hour system has made but little progress; and it is impossible to arrive at any conclusion in relation to the progress of the system. At the present time not more than one third of the Carpenters, and a small number of the Masons have been employed on

the ten hour system. The Plasterers have fully obtained and established the system.

In Schenectady, the Carpenters, Machinists, Millwrights and Founders, copper, tin and sheet iron Workers have succeeded in establishing the system.

In Albany and Troy, the Painters, Carpenters, Stone Masons, Coach Makers, Machinists, Mill Wrights and Founders, have also succeeded. The different trades above named are all attached to the Trades' Union.

In New York City the ten hour system is adopted.

In Newark, N.J., the ten hour system, so far as your Committee have learned, is generally adopted by out door mechanics. Your Committee have also ascertained that the Curriers, Coach Trimmers and Harness Makers, as well as those employed in the establishment for the manufacture of shoes, have generally adopted this wise and salutary system.

In Philadelphia and vicinity the ten hour system is established. During the past summer, nearly all the out door Mechanics struck and succeeded. Previous to that time nearly all who worked by the week, were obliged to toil from sun to sun, for a bare subsistence. The coal heavers on the banks of the Schuylkill first began the struggle against the tremendous power of wealth and avarice. The strike was justice against oppression; and the issue, for a time, was considered doubtful. The Boston circular arrived and was reprinted and read at the meetings of the Mechanics. All our enemies joined against these powerless people, and denounced them as disorderly and riotous. Merchants met in the Exchange, and offered large sums to all who would take the places of the strikers. Before they had succeeded, however, the Carpenters, Bricklayers, Stone Masons, and others turned out for the ten hours. Dur-

ing the contest, the Trades' Union remained apparently a silent spectator; but it was exerting an invisible influence in favour of the oppressed. Public opinion was conquered by moral force. The city councils ordained that the labourers on the city works should not be required to work more than ten hours per day. A similar ordinance was passed by the county commissioners. The battle was over and ten hours now constitute a day's work in Philadelphia.

In Baltimore, Maryland, the ten hour system is generally adopted by the Mechanics. Respectfully submitted by your Committee. W. R. ERWIN,
E. M. LEONARD, J. J. JOHNSON, W. B. PADDON,
WM. CAMERON, THOS. HOGAN, SAM'L VIRGIN.

. . . By Enos M. Leonard. Resolved, that this Convention recommend to the mechanics of the United States to form associations for moral and intellectual improvement in every manufacturing town where it may be deemed practicable.

Mr. John Commerford offered the following resolution—observing, that the appropriations made by the State of New York, for the purpose of Education were of the most liberal character; and, if rightly applied, would go far to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of that portion of its population, who would in time necessarily fill the places of the present operatives of our country. He also remarked that he was led to believe that some of the sub-agents who had the disposal of the public monies of his own State for this purpose, were not as zealous or as anxious to select suitable teachers for instructing the children of the working classes, as they might be; and he urged upon the delegates the necessity of getting their constituents to examine and analyze, as far as they could, the different

systems of instruction pursued in their respective districts of country. He also advised, that the moral character and qualifications of teachers should be scrutinized; so that the next delegates to a Convention might be able to embody in one report the result of such observations as might tend to correct any abuses arising from the inattention of the working classes heretofore on this, to them, important subject.

Resolved, that this Convention recommend to the different Unions and Societies here represented, the propriety of advising their constituents to appoint special committees for the purpose of examining the system of education in the different States and districts of country where such Union or Society may be located, and report the result of their observations at the next session of the National Trades' Union.

The resolution was, on motion, adopted. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. . . Resolutions. By Wm. Boggs, resolved, that this Convention recommend to the different Trades' Unions, and Trade Societies to adopt some immediate and efficient measures for the establishment of Libraries in the cities, towns and villages, where such Unions and Societies are located, for the use and benefit of mechanics and workingmen. Adopted.

By Wm. Murphy, resolved, that the thanks of this Convention be presented to Mr. E. Cronly for the kind and courteous manner in which he tendered the gratuitous use of his room No. 15 Park Row for the meetings of this Convention, after the application of the New York Trades' Union for the use of a room in the City Hall for that purpose had been refused them by the Honorable Corporation of the City of New York. Adopted.

By B. S. Gillespie, resolved, that while we repudiate

the principle and practice of government in levying high tariff duties on the importation of foreign merchandize, we nevertheless conceive it to be the bounden duty of our government, to protect the mechanic arts that have grown up with the country, and have become, as it were, bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh. Adopted.

By Seth Luther, resolved, that after the address to the workingmen of the United States is prepared and placed in the hands of the committee appointed to publish our proceedings of this and the last National Convention, one thousand copies be published and placed in the hands of the officers of the several Trades' Unions to be by them distributed according to direction of the delegates of the several Unions. Adopted.

By Thos. Hogan, resolved, that in addition to the National Trades' Union, the proceedings of this Convention be published in the *Workingman's Advocate*, and other papers friendly to our cause.

By Wm. H. Campbell, resolved, that it be recommended to the several Trades' Unions and societies connected with the National Trades' Union, that in case of a strike in any cotton or other manufactory, they use every possible effort, to raise funds for the support of the operatives, until their employers shall have acceded to their just demand. Unanimously adopted.

By Robert McCally, resolved, that it be recommended to the several Trades' Unions, comprising the National Trades' Union, to take into their consideration the length of servitude of Apprentices. Adopted. . .

By William Thompson, whereas, this Convention, having in view the interest of the working classes, whether male or female, and having reason to believe that the compensation paid for female labor, and es-

pecially for those employed on the Government work, to be altogether inadequate to supply them with the necessaries of life, and a great cause of the increase of crime, as daily evidence proves; therefore, resolved, that we view with feelings of strong indignation, the advantages taken by avaricious and hard-hearted employers, especially the Government contractors, of the females in their employ, by withholding from them a fair remuneration for their labor, and by those means enriching themselves at the expense of the poor helpless females. Adopted.

By William Boggs, resolved, that the committee appointed to revise the proceedings of this Convention, proceed to discharge their duty, and that said committee be compensated for their labor. Adopted.

By L. D. Slamm, resolved, that the thanks of this Convention be presented to the editors of the *National Trades' Union* and the *Jeffersonian*, for reporting and publishing the proceedings of this Convention; and also, to all editors who may publish the same. Adopted.

By Francis Gallagher, resolved, that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to Mr. John Ferrall, our worthy President, for the very able and efficient manner in which he has discharged the duties of his office.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of this Convention be also tendered to the other officers, and particularly to Mr. Edward A. Schermerhorn, the Recording Secretary, for the industry and ability displayed by him in the fulfilment of the arduous duties of that office. Adopted.

RESOLVED, that the sum total of expenses incurred by this Convention, up to this date, be referred to the New York Trades' Union.

Upon the adoption of the above resolutions, the Pres-

ident addressed the Convention in a very eloquent and appropriate manner: after which the Convention adjourned.

(b) CONSTITUTION

National Trades' Union, Oct. 10, 1835, p. 2, col. 1-6; p. 3, col. 1-3. This constitution was adopted on October 5, 1835.

CONSTITUTION. ARTICLE I. This Association shall be styled the "National Trades' Union of the United States."

ARTICLE II. The object of this Union shall be to recommend such measures to the various Unions and Associations represented herein, as may tend to advance the moral, intellectual, and social condition, and pecuniary interests of the laboring classes; and to promote the establishment of Trade Associations and Trades' Unions in every section of the United States: and also to publish and disseminate such information as may be useful to mechanics and working men generally, and to unite and harmonize the efforts of the productive classes of our country.

ARTICLE III. *Section* 1. This Union shall be composed of delegates from the several Trades' Unions in the United States, and from Trade Societies in places where no Unions are established; the number not to exceed one from each Association or Society: to be elected in such manner as the several Unions and Societies may direct—and shall hold office for one year.

Section 2. Each delegate, before taking his seat in the Convention, shall present a certificate of his election, signed by the President and Secretary of the T. Union to which he belongs, or from the President and Secretary of the Society he may represent, in case no Union exists in the vicinity of such Society.

ARTICLE IV. *Section* 1. The officers of this Union shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Recording, and Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Finance Committee, to consist of one from each Union represented in the National Union – and shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Convention. . .

[*Sections* 2 and 3 are practically the same as Article 1, Section 2 and 3 of the 1834 constitution.]

Section 4. All vacancies in office may be filled at any special or stated meeting of the Convention; and the President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may occur during the recess of the Convention.

ARTICLE V. A majority of the delegates composing the Union shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE VI. The Convention shall have power to constitute honorary members such persons as they deem proper, and invite them to a seat in the Convention: provided always, that privilege is not granted them to vote or take part in the deliberations on any question.

ARTICLE VII. The duty of the President shall be to preside at all meetings of the Union – preserve order therein – and decide all questions of order – (such decisions being subject to an appeal regularly made and seconded) – shall give the casting vote when a question is equally divided – and shall perform all other duties that may by law appertain to his office.

ARTICLE VIII. In the absence of the President, it shall be the duty of the Vice President to perform his duties according to precedency.

[ARTICLES IX and X are practically the same as Articles 6 and 7 of the 1834 constitution.]

ARTICLE XI. The duty of the Treasurer shall be to

receive from each member of the Finance Committee his quota of the expense incurred by the Union, transmitting his receipt for the same – to dispose of the funds in such manner as the Union may direct – to pay such bills against the Union as he may have proof to be correct – and to report, at each meeting of the Union, an account of disbursements, and the state of the Treasury.

ARTICLE XII. The duty of the Finance Committee shall be to ascertain the expense of the National Union; and each member shall draw on the funds of the Union to which he belongs, for his proportion of the expenses, and transmit the same to the Treasurer: the amount to be apportioned according to the number of Societies in each Union.

[ARTICLE XIII is practically the same as Article 9 of the 1834 constitution.]

ARTICLE XIV. This Constitution may be amended or altered, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the delegates attending the Union, at any special or annual meetings.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. The roll shall be called.
2. The reading of the minutes of the last meeting.
3. Unfinished business of the previous meeting.
4. Reports of committees, standing and special.
5. Miscellaneous business.

BY-LAWS AND STANDING RULES

1. Every resolution or motion shall, at the request of the presiding officer, or of any member, be reduced to writing.

2. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to lay on the table, for

the previous question, to postpone, to commit, or to amend.

3. Motions to adjourn, to lay on the table, and for the previous question, shall be taken without debate.

4. A motion to adjourn, and the reading of credentials, shall be always in order.

5. Every member about to speak, shall rise and address himself to the presiding officer – confine himself to the question under debate – and speak but twice on the same question, unless by permission from the Convention.

6. When two or more members rise at the same time, the Chair shall name the member to whom precedence is given.

7. When a motion or resolution has been decided upon, it shall be in order for any member of the majority to move a re-consideration; but no discussion on the main question shall be allowed on the motion to reconsider.

8. The previous question shall be in this form: "Shall the main question be now put?" It shall be admitted only when demanded by a majority of the Union; and, until decided, all discussions on the main question shall be precluded.

9. If an appeal be made from the decision of the Chair, the presiding officer shall put the following question "Shall the appeal be heard?" which shall be decided without debate.

10. If it be decided to hear the appeal, no person shall speak but once on the question – the Chair having the preference. The Chair shall then put the question, "Shall the decision of the Chair be sustained?" which shall be decided by a majority of the Convention.

11. If a division of the house be called for, the Re-

cording Secretary shall count the voters on each side, and the Chair announce the result.

12. At the request of one-fifth of the members present, the ayes and noes on any question may be taken, and entered on the minutes.

13. Any question or motion regularly made and seconded, may be discussed in a Committee of the Whole, the President appointing a Chairman, who shall report to him, on the rising of the committee, its decision—which shall be entered on the minutes.

14. The Chairman of the Committee of the Whole shall, for the time being, be invested with all the power of the President.

15. Any rule or by-law may be suspended in its operation, for any particular occasion, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

16. The Convention shall, as soon as practicable after its organization, proceed to appoint Standing Committees, on such prominent questions as shall seem likely to come before them for their deliberation and action.

WM. THOMPSON, F. T. REMINGTON, FRS. GALLAGHER, SAMUEL VIRGIN, E. M. LEONARD, WM. E. BOGART, WM. CAMERON, J. COMMERFORD, ROBT. MCCALLEY—Committee.

4. THE CONVENTION OF 1836

(a) CALL FOR THE CONVENTION

National Laborer (Philadelphia), Sept. 3, 1836, p. 95, col. 3.

To the TRADES' UNIONS IN THE U.S. The officers of the National Trades' Union having unanimously agreed upon the time and place for holding the next annual meeting of that body, the Trades' Unions of the United States are therefore notified that the Convention will be held at Philadelphia, on the 4th Monday in October. Agreeably to the constitution of the National Trades' Union, the delegates must be chosen by the Trades' Unions to which they belong, and any number may be so chosen, provided that there be not more than one for each Trade or Society composing said Union. But where a Trade Society is established in a place where there is no Union, such Society may send whatever number of representatives they may deem proper. In all cases, the delegates must come with credentials from the officers of the body they are chosen to represent.

Every Union in the country is earnestly solicited to send a representation. By authority of the officers.—President, John Ferral, Philadelphia; Vice Presidents, A. I. W. Jackson, Baltimore, N. B. Garden, Newark; Recording Secretary, E. Schermerhorn, Albany.

THOMAS HOGAN, Cor. Sec. N. T. U.

Editors of papers friendly to the prosperity of the working people, will aid the cause by publishing the above.

Philadelphia, 1st September, 1836.

(b) PROCEEDINGS

National Laborer, Oct. 29, Nov. 5 and 12, 1836.

Military Hall, Monday Morning, Oct. 24th, 1836.

The Convention of the National Union was opened this morning. The President, John Ferral, took the chair, and Thomas Hogan acted as Secretary. The President having read the call of the Convention, it was resolved that the delegates exhibit their credentials, which were accordingly read and accepted in the following order:

From the state of NEW YORK, New York City – John Commerford, Levi D. Slamm, Barnabas S. Gillespie, Wm. Murphy, Roswell C. Bowie. Albany – F. T. Remington and Amaziah Whitney.

NEW JERSEY, Newark – George Wier, N. B. Gardner, and Charles F. D. Jones.

PENNSYLVANIA, Pittsburgh – James Murray. Reading – John Darragh. Philadelphia – S. C. Thompson, John Crossin, Thomas Hogan, John Ferral, Joseph D. Miller, Wm. Thompson, John Hays, Eli Dillin, Wm. D. Jones, Joshua S. Fletcher, Ephraim F. Dubois, and Wm. Gunn.

MARYLAND, Baltimore – A. J. W. Jackson, Francis Gallagher, Samuel C. Forbes, Daniel A. Piper, Phillip Adams, George Waterton, Wm. D. Roberts.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, Washington – James Douglass, and James F. Halliday.

OHIO, Cincinnati – David S. Snellbaker, Mark P. Taylor.

The names of the delegates were then called and were all present.

On motion of Thomas Hogan, Dr. Charles Douglass, of New London, Connecticut, was unanimously

admitted to a seat in the Convention. Dr. Douglass returned thanks to the Convention in a very happy style, for the honour conferred him, and accepted the offer tendered him.

The President then, in a very eloquent address, gave a glowing account of the progress of the cause of the workingmen during the past year.

On motion of Wm. Thompson, the Constitution and By-laws of the National Union were then read.

On motion of John Crossin, it was resolved that we proceed to an election for president.

Geo. Wier, Eli Dillin, John Commerford, were appointed Judges, and the Convention then adjourned for fifteen minutes. David S. Snellbaker, of Cincinnati, James Murray, of Pittsburgh, John Commerford, of New York, A. J. W. Jackson, of Baltimore, John Crossin, of Philadelphia, were nominated for the office of President.

When the Convention reorganized, the Judges of the election reported that Alexander J. W. Jackson of Baltimore was duly elected President.

Mr. Jackson tendered his thanks to the convention for this expression of their confidence, and accepted the trust. . .

And after the election was held, the Judges reported that James Murray, of Pittsburgh, was elected first Vice President, and Amaziah Whitney, of Albany, was elected second Vice President. . .

Afternoon, 3 o'clock. The Convention proceeded to ballot for the remainder of the officers; after which the judges reported that Thomas Hogan was duly elected Corresponding Secretary, and John Commerford was duly elected Treasurer. There being no choice for a Recording Secretary, the Convention held a second bal-

lot, which resulted in the choice of Joseph D. Miller, of Philadelphia.

The Convention then proceeded to the nomination of a Finance Committee, when the following named gentlemen were nominated: Messrs. Wm. Thompson and Wm. D. Jones, of Philadelphia, Levi D. Slamm, of New York, Charles Jones, of Newark, Phillip Adams, of Baltimore, James Douglass, District of Columbia, David S. Snellbaker, of Cincinnati, James Murray, of Pittsburgh, and F. T. Remington, of Albany. There being no opposition, except in the nomination from Philadelphia, the Judges, after a ballot, declared Messrs. Wm. Thompson, Charles Jones, Adams, Douglass, Snellbaker, Murray, and Remington, duly elected.

On motion of John Ferral, of Philadelphia, the proceedings of the last National Convention were read and approved.

Mr. Crossin, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolutions, which were adopted.

RESOLVED, that the various delegations sitting in this Union, be authorized to report the numerical strength of their various Unions and Societies, with all other important and statistical accounts calculated to give more extensive knowledge of the standing and prospects of each Union and Society.

RESOLVED, that hereafter it shall be the duty of the representatives of each Union or Society, sitting in the National Union, to give a full and explicit statement of the standing and numbers of their Unions or Societies, and such other information as may be conducive of benefit to the laboring classes throughout the United States.

Military Hall, Tuesday, October 25th.

. . . Agreeably to the resolution offered last evening by Mr. Crossin, the delegates proceeded to report

on the state of the various Unions. The reports being principally given verbally, were not noted down; but were all calculated to give satisfaction for past, and encouragement for future exertion.

The credentials of Mr. Joseph Thompson as a delegate to this convention from the Associated Weavers of New York, were read and accepted, and the gentleman took his seat.

Mr. Wm. Thompson offered the following resolution. Resolved, that Standing Committees of five each, be appointed under the following denomination.

Committee on Trades' Unions; Committee on Co-operation; Committee on Education; Committee on Public Lands; Committee of Ways and Means; Committee on State Prison Labor; Committee on Factory System; Committee on Female Labor.

Moved that the subject of each Committee be taken up, and discussed separately.

Committee on Trades' Unions, adopted; Committee on Co-operation, a Committee on Education, a Committee on Public Lands, taken up, when a motion was made to lay the subject on the table. The motion not being debatable according to the By-laws, a motion was then made by Mr. Hogan, that the operation of the By-law be suspended, so as to allow the question to be debated; the question was put from the chair, and lost; Mr. Crossin then moved that the words "Public Lands" be stricken out, and the word Banking be inserted. Moved that the amendment lay on the table; the ayes and nays were called, when the following was the result: ayes, 20. Nays, 12. [Names omitted.] The original question was then called, the discussion of which occupied the convention until the hour of adjournment, when the convention adjourned until half past two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION, October 25th. The discussion of the question of a Committee on Public Lands was resumed, when Mr. Piper called the previous question; the chair sustained the call—an appeal was made to the decision of the chair, when on motion, the decision was sustained.

The main question being then put was lost.

On motion, the appointment of a Committee of Ways and Means was dispensed with, as the business was thought to belong to the Committee of Finance. The Committee on State Prison Labor was agreed to. The Committee on Female Labor was agreed to. On motion of Wm. D. Jones, that the proceedings of the convention of 1835 be referred to a Committee of three, with instructions to report the unfinished business thereof, together with such suggestions therein, as they may think will advance the general interests of this convention.

On motion of Mr. Dillin, resolved, that the convention proceed to fill the different Committees in the order in which they have passed. The Committees were then filled, and stand as follows:

1st. Trades' Union—F. T. Remington, D. S. Snellbaker, John Darragh, Wm. Murphy and B. S. Gillespie.

2d. Co-operation—W. Thompson, Eli Dillin, John Commerford and David S. Snellbaker.

3d. Education—Thomas Hogan, Chas. Douglass, Daniel A. Piper, Charles F. D. Jones and Francis Gallagher.

4th. State Prison Labor—J. Commerford, W. D. Roberts, L. D. Slamm, J. F. Halliday and N. B. Gardner.

5th. Factory System—John Hays, Joseph Thompson, Samuel C. Thompson, Philip Adams and John Ferral.

6th. Female Labor–James Murray, Joshua S. Fletcher, John Crossin, E. F. Dubois and Chas. F. D. Jones.

7th. On the Unfinished Business of last year–Wm. D. Jones, John Commerford and Samuel C. Thompson.

On motion of John Crossin, Mr. William English was requested to take a seat in the convention and participate in its deliberatons. Mr. English being present, returned his thanks to the convention for the favor granted.

Mr. Snellbaker of Cincinnati, offered the following resolution: resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to enquire into the sources of the great system of speculation, by which they who produce nothing receive nearly all the products of the labor of those that produce, while they who produce all receive but a mite of their own labor, and to report on the best course to be pursued to secure to all the full reward of their own industry.

The resolution drew forth the eloquence of several members of the delegation, and on motion of Mr. Ferral, was amended, by striking out Committee of three and inserting Committee on Education. It was then referred accordingly.

On motion of Samuel C. Thompson, resolved, that the Editor of the *Public Ledger*, John Thompson, printer, and all Editors known to be friendly to the cause of the Working classes, be invited to attend the present sittings of this convention.

Mr. Gillespie offered the following resolution: resolved, that a Committee of five be appointed to draft a Memorial to Congress, against the practice of selling our Public Lands to the citizens or subjects of any foreign nation, and for the passage of a law, by which none

but citizens of the United States, or those who reside amongst us and have declared their intentions to become so, shall hereafter hold titles to any lands under the jurisdiction of the United States Government.

Mr. Hogan moved to strike out all after the words "Public Lands," and insert, "and for the purpose of having a law passed by which none but actual settlers may have a claim thereto." . .

MORNING SESSION, October 26th. . . On motion of Mr. Gallagher, resolved, that the members of the Convention of hand loom weavers and of the Convention of Carpenters now assembled in this city, be respectfully invited to attend the sittings of this Convention, whenever they may find it convenient.

The Chair appointed Messrs. Gallagher and Ferral a committee to convey the information to the two Conventions.

The committee on unfinished business submitted the following reports:

The committee on the unfinished business of last year, present the following subjects, as in their opinion, worthy of the deliberation and action of this Convention.

The first subject to which the attention of the delegates is called, is that of the tax requiring the members belonging to the different Societies attached to Unions, to pay two cents per month towards the creation of a national fund.

The second subject for consideration, the committee deems of importance, is the inaction of the committee appointed to prepare an address to the working men of the United States.

Thirdly, your committee suggest that State Prison labor should be made a subject of inquiry, and that the

committee appointed at the last session be called on to report.

The fourth subject which your committee think should engage the attention of this body, is the equalizing of wages throughout the districts of country, where trade societies or unions exist.

Fifth, in conformity with the disposition manifested by the acts of the convention of last year, your committee propose that the members report what progress the ten hour system has made so far as the Government is concerned.

Sixth, the committee appointed on cotton factories at our previous meetings, we would recommend to report.

Seventh, your committee desire that the correspondence which was recommended by the convention of last year, should occupy the serious contemplation of this body. This subject is of the greatest importance, inasmuch as an active and steady exchange of information is calculated to promote the objects and interests for which the national convention is convened.

Eighth, your committee also desire that members from the different unions be requested to spread such information as they may possess on the subject of education before this body.

Ninth, your committee would also respectfully suggest that the committee on correspondence be called upon to inform this body what measures, if any, have been taken by them to maintain the equilibrium of labor throughout the country.

The consideration of this subject it is hoped will not be neglected, the more especially, as our members in any section will materially neutralize our efforts.

WILLIAM D. JONES, JOHN COMMERFORD.

Mr. Gallagher from the committee on the conven-

tions of Carpenters and hand loom weavers, reported that they waited on the convention of hand loom weavers and informed them of the object of their visit. They were desired to tender to this convention their thanks for the favour conferred on them, which they will avail themselves of on every occasion where they can make it convenient. [The first seven subjects brought up by the committee on unfinished business were referred to various committees.]

On motion of Wm. Thompson, the convention went into committee of the whole on the eighth recommendation of the committee on unfinished business; Mr. Adams in the chair.

The Committee of the whole, after being in session about two hours, rose and reported progress. . .

AFTERNOON MEETING, Oct. 26. The ninth recommendation of the committee on unfinished business was taken up, and on motion referred to the committee on Trades' Union. . .

Mr. Crossin offered the following resolution which was adopted. Resolved, that a full and detailed account of the proceedings of this convention be published by the National Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and that at as early a day as possible, the various unions now represented be requested through their corresponding Secretary to apply to the recording Secretary of the National Trades' Union for as many copies of the proceedings as they may desire to purchase.

Mr. Dillin offered the following, which was laid on the table. Resolved, that a committee of —— be appointed to investigate the subject of lotteries as now existing in many of the states, and the consequences of such system upon the productive classes.

Mr. Remington offered the following, which was

adopted: resolved, that a committee consisting of one delegate from each Trades' Union represented in this convention be appointed to revise the constitution of said convention on such principles as will the more effectually ensure the carrying out of such measures as may be agreed upon.

The following gentlemen compose the committee on the above resolution – Mr. Bowie of New York, Mr. Remington of Albany, Mr. Charles F. D. Jones of Newark, Mr. Murray of Pittsburgh, Mr. Darrah of Reading, Mr. Wm. Thompson of Philadelphia, Mr. Adams of Baltimore, Mr. Halliday of Washington, D.C. and Mr. Snellbaker of Cincinnati.

Mr. Moffet, from the office of the *Public Ledger*, was introduced to the convention, and after some appropriate remarks, took his seat.

Mr. Murphy offered the following; whereas the National Convention of the Trades' Union assembled in the city of New York in October, 1835, did petition Congress for a reduction of the hours of labor on the public works, and as Congress have refused to interfere in the said matter, thereby declaring that the persons employed should redress their own grievances: and whereas, the order which has been lately issued by the government, establishing the ten hour system on the said works is not a general order; therefore, be it resolved, that we most earnestly recommend to the persons employed thereon, to persevere and insist on the establishment of the ten hour system by all lawful and honourable means.

RESOLVED, that the different Trades' Unions established in the vicinities of the said works be requested to use their influence with the persons employed, and stimulate them to a united effort to establish this judicious system throughout the country.

On motion of Mr. Remington, resolved, that this convention recommend to the various societies attached to Trades' Unions and others, to establish Literary and Debating Societies. Referred to Committee on Address.

The resolution offered yesterday by Mr. Gillespie, and amended by Mr. Hogan, was called up, the motion being put on the amendment, it was adopted, the resolution was then adopted as amended. Messrs. Gillespie and Commerford of New York, Hogan of Philadelphia, Gardner of Newark, and Remington of Albany were appointed a committee to carry the same into effect.

Mr. Adams offered the following, which was adopted: resolved that the committee on Trades' Unions be instructed to enquire into the cause of the seeming apathy prevailing in the States east of New York on the subject of Trades' Unions and Trade Societies, and report thereon to this convention.

The report of the committee on Education, on that part of their duty contained in the resolution offered, was read and accepted. . .

The convention then resolved itself into a committee of the whole. Mr. Adams in the chair. After being in session a short time, the committee rose and reported that they have adopted the following resolution, and begged to be discharged. Resolved, that it be recommended to the producing classes in the respective states here represented, to use their best and most strenuous efforts in obtaining the passage of such laws as will secure the blessings of Education to all classes and conditions of society.

On motion, the report of the committee was accepted, and the committee discharged. The resolution offered by the committee was on motion adopted. . .

EVENING SESSION, Oct.26th, 1836. . . Mr. Whitney offered the following, which was adopted.

RESOLVED, that there be a committee appointed of one from each Trades' Union represented to act with such committee as may be appointed by their respective Unions, to investigate such subjects as may be referred to them for their consideration, and report the same to this Convention (in writing) at its next annual meeting.

The report of the Committee on Female Labor was read and accepted. The resolutions attached to the report were on motion adopted. . .

MORNING SESSION, Oct. 27th. The Convention opened at the appointed time, the President in the chair, a quorum present, the minutes of yesterday read and accepted.

The committee appointed by this Convention to consider the subject of State Prison Labor submitted their report, to which were attached the following resolutions, which were adopted. [See (f) following.]

The committee at their own request were discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

Mr. Whitney called for the appointment of a committee on the resolution offered by him last evening, when the following distribution was made.

On Education, John Commerford of New York; on State Prison Labor, Amaziah Whitney of Albany; Factory System, George Wier of Newark; Female Labor, James Murray of Pittsburgh; Co-operation, William Thompson of Philadelphia; Ten Hour System, James Douglas of Washington, D.C.; Trades' Unions, Francis Gallagher of Baltimore; Effects of Speculation on the Laboring Classes, Snellbaker of Cincinnati.

The committee on Trades' Unions submitted their report. The three first propositions contained in the

report were on motion adopted. The fourth was on motion referred to the committee on Co-operation.

Mr. Halliday offered the following: resolved, that this Convention recommend to the several Trades' Unions here represented to draft memorials, obtain signatures to the same, and forward them to the President of the United States, asking the establishment of uniform hours of labor upon all the public works, and that they recommend that not more than ten hours constitute a day's work.

RESOLVED, that the Unions be requested to forward their memorials immediately after the 4th of March next, and that their delegates to the next Convention report the result of the application.

Mr. Crossin moved that the resolutions be referred to the Committee on the Ten Hour System. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION, Oct. 27th. The motion of Mr. Crossin to refer the resolutions of Mr. Halliday to the committee on ten hour system, was taken up and agreed to.

A communication was received from the convention of Hand-Loom Weavers, announcing that they will this afternoon avail themselves of the invitation of this convention to sit with them, the gentlemen being present, were invited to a seat. On motion of S. C. Thompson, the committee on Factory system was discharged from the further consideration of the subject, and a new committee appointed. The following gentlemen constitute the new committee. S. C. Thompson, John Crossin, Charles Douglass, John Hays, and John Ferral.

The committee on Public Lands reported on the subject of the memorial to Congress.

On motion of Mr. Hogan, the following resolutions were adopted: resolved, that this convention, while it

deeply regrets the inability of the females employed in the Lowell factories to maintain their rights, view their conduct as highly meritorious, and deserving of the approbation of the working people of the United States, and as a proof of its regard for their interest, that a committee of three be appointed to transmit a letter to them approving of the noble stand made against aggression, and sympathising with them on their failure.

RESOLVED further, that this convention earnestly recommend to the Unions in the United States to do all in their power to aid either by money or otherwise the females who are standing out against the oppression of these soulless employers.

Committee on the above, Messrs. Hogan, Crossin, and Piper.

The committee on Education asked leave to report during the recess of the convention; the request was granted.

The committee on Address asked the same privilege. It was also granted.

Mr. Gallagher offered the following, which was adopted.

Whereas, in this land of freedom, a fearless and independent press is the palladium of Public Liberty, and knowing that such press is the most speedy vehicle by which knowledge can be disseminated among the working classes: therefore resolved, that it be earnestly recommended to the Workingmen of the United States to encourage and patronise papers devoted to the maintenance of those eternal principles of Justice upon which Trades' Unions are based.

The committee on the ten hour system submitted the report, attached to which was the following resolution: resolved, that the various Unions be earnestly requested

to use their influence in favor of the ten hour system, as citizens unconnected with any society, by requesting of the President of the United States, orders for adoption of the system wherever the government may require more than ten hours for a day's labor in the vicinity of such Union.

On motion the resolution was adopted. . .

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION, Oct. 28th. On motion of Mr. W. D. Jones, resolved, that this convention deem it the imperative duty of all members forming committees from this body, to transmit all documents and subjects referred to them, to their successors in the delegation, with such investigations as they may have made.

The committee on the Constitution submitted the result of their labors for adoption. On motion, the articles were taken up separately, and discussed, after which they were adopted.

On motion resolved, that this convention hold an adjourned session on the first Monday in May next. The question was called by ayes and nays, and recorded as follows: [Ayes, 19; nays, 8. Names omitted.]

On motion of C. F. D. Jones, resolved, that the several Unions and Trade Societies herein represented, be requested to use their utmost endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the female operatives in their respective vicinities, by inducing to form societies for the purpose of sustaining them in their undoubted right, namely, that of a just remuneration for their labor, and to prevent the ruinous competition which now exists by the labor of females being brought into competition with that of males.

The committee on Co-operation submitted their report, which was read and accepted.

On motion of D. A. Piper, resolved, that the resolu-

tion offered by Mr. Whitney on Wednesday evening, be so altered as to require the several committees appointed under said resolution, to report at the adjourned meeting of this convention to be held in May next.

The committee on the Factory System submitted their report.

On motion, the proceedings of this convention were referred to the Philadelphia delegation for revision and correction previous to their full publication. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. On motion of James Murray, resolved, that this convention recommend the propriety of forming miscellaneous societies, where the number of operatives in a single branch of business are insufficient to form a society, and that they be admitted into the different Trades' Unions in their vicinity, on the same principles upon which other societies are admitted.

The finance committee reported the expense of room, stationary, &c. for the sitting of this convention to be twelve dollars. On motion, the report was referred to the Philadelphia delegation.

On motion of John Ferral, resolved, that this convention highly approve of the conduct of the presiding officers during the present session.

John Ferral offered the following, which was under discussion, when the hour of adjournment arrived, and the convention stood adjourned.

RESOLVED, that this convention disapprove of the system now practised by the National Government, in the disposal of the public lands.

RESOLVED, that the public lands are the public domain, and that the said domain should be appropriated only to actual settlers, labor expended thereon being the title that equal laws and equal rights will approve.

JOSEPH D. MILLER, Sec. N.T.U.

[*National Laborer*, Nov. 12, 1836] There was an error in the latter part of the proceedings as reported by the Secretary, and printed in our paper. It is stated that the convention adjourned while the resolutions on the subject of the public lands were under discussion; whereas the resolutions were adopted, and it was a motion to transmit a copy to the President and the Congress, which was under consideration when the time expired.

(c) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FEMALE LABOR

National Laborer, Nov. 12, 1836, pp. 133, 134.

The Committee appointed to report on the evils of Female Labor, respectfully offer the following as the result of their opinions and conference on that subject, having in the discharge of their duty considered the subject in a moral, social, and pecuniary point of view.

First – Proceeding to explain and exhibit the errors of the system, and after to point out the only means of curtailing or arresting the evil.

The system of Female Labor, as practiced in our cities and manufacturing towns, is surely the most disgraceful escutcheon on the character of American freemen, and one, if not checked by some superior cause, will entail ignorance, misery and degradation on our children, to the end of time. "The physical organization, the natural responsibilities, and the moral sensibility of women, prove conclusively that her labors should be only of a domestic nature." But if the character and attributes of any of God's creatures have been subverted, it has been woman, when forced by adventitious circumstances to become the abused hireling and drudge of the speculator and monopolist. Let the

Workingmen of the United States but consider what would become of the rising generation if the almost universal system of Female Labor should not be arrested. By reflecting one moment, every one can see the consequences, and although it may promise and offer temporary gain to some, it should be passed and heeded as "the song of the syren"—every thing at present or in future, is destroyed by the illusion. The health of the young female, in the majority of cases, is injured by unnatural restraint and confinement, and deprived of the qualities essentially necessary in the culture and bearing of healthy children. Their morals frequently depart before their health, in consequence of being often crowded in such large numbers, with all characters and all sexes; and what evil example this fails to do, necessity too often urges and palliates; and this one point of the subject, above all others, should arouse the jealous sensibilities of every moral man, and more particularly of every parent. These evils themselves are great, and call loudly for a speedy cure; but still another objection to the system arises, which, if possible, is productive of the other evils, namely, the ruinous competition brought in active opposition to male labor, actually producing a reversion of the very good intended to do the guardian or parent, causing the destruction of the end which it aims to benefit; because, when the employer finds, as he surely will, that female assistance will compress his ends, of course the workman is discharged, or reduced to a corresponding rate of wages with the female operative. By these means the parent, the husband, or the brother, is deprived of a sufficient subsistence to support himself and family, when without the auxiliary aid of the female, by his own labor alone he might have supported himself and family in decency,

and kept his wife or relative at home, to perform the duties of the household. Nor is the evil lessened in the case of females who work singly, or in reduced numbers. If possible, their competition is still more ruinous; because, in the first instance, when congregated in large numbers, they are generally the assistants of machinery, which destroys the necessity of manual labor. But in the latter case, all being done by the hand, the female in a short time becomes so expert as entirely to supercede the necessity of the male; and this fact is apparent to every one, that, when the females are found capable of performing duty generally performed by the men, as a natural consequence, from the cheapness of their habits and dependent situation, they acquire complete control of that particular branch of labor. And if the evil stopped here, it might more readily be arrested; but the desire of gain is such that there is no limits that could confine it; and so long as employers are allowed to experiment on the labor of the sex, each trade, except it be of the most laborious character, is in danger of the innovation. The Committee will not attempt to conceal the fact, that a serious question meets us in our opposition to the system. "If the mechanical labor, or the opposition labor of females are destroyed, can they employ their time usefully and profitably?" and the Committee will answer, not without a corresponding change in society, which must be produced by the extension of knowledge and education. In the early ages, we find that the women were usefully, healthily, and industriously employed, although differently engaged from their present occupations; and if in those early days a sufficiency of labor was found, as a matter of course, at the present day, with the increased demand, a sufficiency can be had in the family of every

one. The evil, however, has been saddled upon us, and it is our duty, as well as interest, to propose such remedies as the case may require. Females themselves are very blind as to their real interest, and imagine that each effort made to destroy the operation of the system, is destructive to their interest, whereas it is virtually calculated to remove and destroy the very evils they now labor under, and it would be folly to urge a different course, until they see the evil in all its colours. One thing, however, must be apparent to every reflecting female, that all her exertions are scarce sufficient to keep her alive; that the price of her labor each year is reduced; and that she in a measure stands in the way of the male when attempting to raise his prices or equalize his labor; and that there her efforts to sustain herself and family, are actually the same as tying a stone around the neck of her natural protector, Man, and destroying him with the weight she has brought to his assistance. This is the true and natural consequence of female labor, when carried beyond the necessities of the family. It is thus that the speculator can riot through his mines of gold, heedless of the tears and the degradation of his innocent victims. It is not enough that freemen have sunk below the level of humanity at the shrine of Mammon, but their wives and daughters must be offered at the pyre. Is not Avarice satisfied with a nation of Fathers and Sons, but our Wives and Daughters, the loved ones of our hearts and affections, shall be thrown into the spoilers' arms? How true, though oft repeated

> Man's inhumanity to man,
> Makes countless thousands mourn.

What we would ask, has ever been the pride of this, as well as other countries; but the purity, the virtue, and the intelligence of their daughters?

Can refined patriotism exist in the breasts of men who daily quietly look upon their daughters without an effort to raise them to their proper level, and to preserve their honor, "a pearl of princely value." For what did the Roman patriot sacrifice his only daughter, but to preserve her honor? For what did Coriolanus the second time resign his name, his glory and his splendid triumphs, but for the mother that bore him, and to dry the tears of his wife, his bosom friend? If we cannot be Romans, let us act the part of men.

The committee acknowledge, first, the system necessary in the present state of society.

2. That it is destructive in all its bearings.

3. That it must be destroyed by gradual means, and by the active co-operation of the female operatives.

4. That the legislatures of the various states should be required to assist by the enactment of laws preventing females under a certain age from being employed in large factories, and then only under the care and superintendence of a parent.

It has already been shown an evil, but if anything more is required to prove it, it may be necessary to state, that in the New England states, printing, saddling, brush making, tailoring, whip making, and many other trades are in a certain measure governed by females; and as a matter of course the same system will spread over the country. It has been shown that the number of females employed in opposition to male labor, throughout the United States, exceeds 140,000, who labor on an average from 12 to 15 hours per day, without that pure air and wholesome exercise which are necessary to health, and confinement with the consequent excess of toil, which checks the growth of the body, destroying in effect the natural powers of the mind, and

not unfrequently distorting the limbs. Dr. Smith observes, his surprise ceased on seeing a large number of deformed extremities, when he ascertained they came from a manufacturing town and the number of hours they were compelled to labour. It seldom occurs that those employed in factories exceed forty years of age, and the average longevity in a worsted mill in Manchester is thirteen, and in cotton factories seventeen years – the average deformity as one to thirty-seven – to these may be attributed principally the great proportion of mortality by consumption, of which we have such frequent accounts from England and the cities of the United States. It is computed that in the city of London alone, there are 50,000 common prostitutes, nine-tenths of whom are reduced to this necessity, from the miserable payment received for their labor from the factories, neglect of education in youth, and an entire lack of knowledge in the more useful branches of female industry, all emanating from the same cause, and false delusions held out to the parents of children by heartless aristocratic monopolists. These expositions we consider conclusive evidence of the unnatural policy of placing females in a different element from that designed by nature, and proven by their slight texture of body, and extreme sensibility of mind. As an evidence of the injurious tendencies the introduction of the female system has upon the male operatives, we will take the societies composing the Union of Philadelphia only; for example, of fifty-eight societies, twenty-four are seriously affected by female labor, to the impoverishing of whole families, and benefit of none but the employers. It is presumed that this is a fair criterion to judge of the other sections of the Union; and from all these calculations there is evident reason to believe, that some of

the different branches of operative mechanics will in time be superseded by female operatives to the entire exclusion of the males, and the consequent introduction of dissipation, indolence, and crime.

We would not be understood by these suggestions to deprive the female portion of the community from earning by honest industry a livelihood, but to direct their attention to the other branches of female industry, better calculated to promote health of body, and the still more noble attainments, the cultivation of the mind, believing that there are sufficient openings for female industry and invention, much more profitable, and not requiring that labor of body, and constant incarceration required in factories.

That it must be destroyed by gradual means none can deny; a departure from which, if it were practicable, would reduce thousands to beggary, starvation, and crime.

That females themselves should arouse in this noble cause is again pressed by the committee, believing if the good and pure in all classes would but come out, much might be done to meliorate their condition. For instance, it is presumed there are twenty beneficial societies for females in the city of Philadelphia, composing in the aggregate 4,000 members. Now, if the humane in these societies could effect a reorganization in order to grant assistance to those imposed upon by employers, the good effects, no doubt, would be speedily felt. In addition to their beneficial dues, let them assess each member 6¼ cents monthly, making the sum in addition 75 cents yearly, which could be felt by none, but which by the increased number of females who would subscribe from motives of charity, might be raised to an amount calculated to defeat the oppression of the

heartless employer; because if the employer can but manage without their assistance two weeks, he is sure of defeating them. And on the other hand, if they could stand for three weeks, the pressing demand for their labor and the impracticability of foreign assistance, would compel him to come to terms. This simple plan itself would give confidence to the female, throws her in the company of those who were her friends, and by their united energies would do more to raise each other than all the Dorcas Societies in the world, who subscribe themselves "charitable ladies," for giving a woman 12½ cents for making a shirt, equalled as they are in "charity" only by the United States' Clothing Department in the city of Philadelphia, which has ground the seamstress down to the above sum, 12½ for the same article.

In the city of Philadelphia a Society of Female Operatives exists, numbering near four hundred, governed on the same principles as the other Trade Societies, which, in time, no doubt, will effectuate much good; and two or three other societies are composed in part by females who have received a proportionate benefit with the males. Many means, no doubt, might be adopted to bring females in society, but until it is done, they have little hope of redress.

Another method might be resorted to. All those trades affected by female labor could regulate their laws in such way as to admit those females in their society, so that in case of difficulty they would be governed by their laws and receive their support—or raise the Society of females, and make one auxiliary to the other. Any of these measures might be tried without danger or loss, and there is no doubt one or the other with perseverance would succeed, but the committee would recommend the amalgamation of trade and beneficial So-

cieties. While on this point of the subject, the committee cannot pass without a remark on the inconsistency of a certain class of females, and likewise to offer one more suggestion. The fact must be apparent to any one that Sunday School Societies and Temperance Societies have been mainly supported by females, as well also as Foreign and Domestic Missions. Now, is it not a singular fact, that females who would sacrifice their time and health to distribute tracts and collect moneys for the heathen, could not devote a mite for their own oppressed countrywomen without the sacrifice of time or health. We do not object to these objects by any means; but while they are discharging the duties of humanity they should not overlook their own sex and kin. Let them endeavour to take away the provocation to crime by giving the poor female a sufficiency for her labor to support herself and orphans, and that act will be as acceptable in the eye of Heaven as any ever discharged by mortal. Besides, their efforts to distinguish themselves, if their motives be pure, which we do not question, are not always crowned with success, agents and impostors frequently reaping the fruit of their labors; whereas, did they but collect but half the sum to give to destitute females forced to abandon their labor, they themselves could divide the tribute without the least danger of imposition. Of what avail has been all the sympathy expressed by some of the great men of this city? Have they ever proposed a single plan to benefit the female laborer? Much have they talked, but little have they done. We see among the fashionable ladies, monthly contributions started, extending, as they do, through all classes of females, for one thing or the other thing, but we do not see them propose[5] a penny or two-

[5] The hint for a two penny fund is a "suggestion," and should be credited to a lady of Philadelphia, to whom the committee return thanks.

penny tax on the female portion of the community for their unfortunate sisters in adversity. This would be a noble thing; and the committee will propose to the charitable in those districts where females are oppressed, to form themselves in general societies for the benefit of female laborers; and if the donation be but two cents monthly, that sum will answer every purpose, provided it is subscribed to generally. The question will then soon be settled, whether those who have done so much have done so from the dictates of conscience or for the applause of the world. The females employed in the Lowell Mills, by the adoption of such a suggestion, no doubt would have been able to starve their proprietors out, instead of being defeated, as they probably will be. But to prevent a similar recurrence, they should immediately adopt energetic measures, in the construction of Societies to support each other in trouble; and by their failure, composed as they are of 7,000 in all, let others be cautioned. This is the only effectual remedy to be applied at this time. We must first curb the excess before we destroy the evil.

In relation to the right or propriety of legislatures interfering with the domestic arrangements of manufacturers or speculators, workingmen should not say one word. "The evil has arisen from partial legislation," and let legislation correct the evil. Take away from the wealthy the temptation held out by poverty, and we will be more virtuous and more happy.

In concluding their report, the committee will observe the suggestions thrown out are gratuitous, believing that nothing can be done without the co-operation of the females; they however have proposed the above remedies, hoping that the day is not far distant, when some of them may be adopted to relieve this op-

pressed part of the community; they shall therefore close by offering the following:

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this convention, the present system of Female Labour is highly injurious to the best interests of the working classes, to the great object of mental improvement, and consequent corruption of good morals.

RESOLVED, that this convention, from feelings of humanity, recommend to the different Unions the propriety of assisting with their advice and influence, the female operatives through out the U. States, in ameliorating their present unhappy situation, under the female system of labour.

JOHN CROSSIN, JAMES MURRAY, JOSHUA S. FLETCHER, CHARLES F. D. JONES.

(d) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

National Laborer, Nov. 19, 1836, p. 137.

This is a special report on "speculation." The report of the committee on its own proper subject was not made at this time, as it asked and was granted leave to report during the recess of the convention. It is not known whether the report was ever made.

The Committee on Education to which was referred the following resolution, "That a committee of three be appointed to inquire into the sources of the great system of speculation – by which they who produce nothing receive nearly all of the products of the labor of those who produce – while they who produce all receive but a mite of their own labor – and to report on the best course to be pursued to secure to all the full reward of their own industry" – respectfully report, that they have attended only to that portion of their duty which is involved in the above resolution, and even upon that their limited time and means of information constrain them to be brief. Your committee have found the sub-

ject to be of great magnitude, and one which would require more time than they or even the Convention could bestow upon it. It is too important, however, to be passed over in silence, and your committee have, therefore, enumerated two of the principal causes of the present raging speculation among the people of the United States.

First. An unsettled currency, and constant fluctations in the nominal value of money, by which produce of all descriptions, though varying not in its worth is varying and unfixed in its prices, thus giving to the capitalist an opportunity to buy when provisions are cheap, and retain them in his possession till a new fluctuation in money prices takes place, and then sell them at an advance, thus putting wealth into his pocket without labor. Your Committee consider that money is but a medium of exchange or the mere representative of the products of labor. And it may, therefore, be compared to a yard-stick, or a weight, or a measure. It is obvious, therefore, that if the currency becomes deranged, or is liable to the slightest changes, the productive laborer cannot receive the reward of his industry, and that the portion filched from him goes into the hands of the speculator. If a weaver, for instance, manufactures a quantity of cloth, payable for by the yard, and it is measured with a stick 3½ feet in length instead of 3, it is plain that he is defrauded; and precisely so in money—if he bargains to manufacture a quantity of goods for fifty dollars, and he finds that when he receives his pay he cannot make his earnings go so far by ten dollars as he could when he agreed upon the price for his labor, he is again defrauded.

A field is thus opened for speculation, which all enter who wish to acquire wealth, and the scramble of

buying and selling continues so long as the nominal prices of labor are changing.

2. Another thing which encourages speculation is the division of the workingmen into employers and journeymen, a system which places the actual operative in a situation that effectually debars him from having a control over his labor, and gives him no voice in its disposal. Everything that increases the number of hands through which the products of his labor has to pass before they reach the consumer, encourages speculation, and on the other hand, the diminution of intermediate agents in the sale of his manufactures, decreases speculation, and secures to him a greater portion of the profits of his industry. If, therefore, the mechanics sold their labor directly to the consumer, speculation would cease, and they would receive a full reward for their labor.

Your Committee have thus gone through the sources of speculation as far as circumstances permitted. The concluding part of the resolution referred to them remains yet to be considered; this is to "report on the best course to be pursued to secure to all the full reward of their own industry." Your Committee are decidedly of opinion that the best course is to establish a system which will enable the mechanic to have the sole and absolute control over the disposal of his labor, and this, in their opinion, can be done only by forming Co-operative Trade Associations, and as a Committee on that subject has been appointed by the Convention, they deem it proper to conclude their report, by recommending the serious attention of the Convention to the report of the Committee on Co-operation.

THOMAS HOGAN, CHAS. F. D. JONES,
FRANCIS GALLAGHER, DANIEL A. PIPER.

(e) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TRADES' UNIONS

National Laborer, Nov. 26, 1836, p. 141.

The Committee on Trades' Unions, beg leave to report:

That owing to the short space of time allotted to them, they are unable to make as full and elaborate a report as the magnitude of the subject entrusted to them is entitled to; they will, however, endeavor to discharge the duties assigned to them. And, first: The importance of Union and Co-operation is manifest to all reflecting men, and the motto of "United we stand, divided we fall," is no where more applicable than to the interests of the working people; therefore interest, duty, and patriotism, demand that we should pursue with energy every measure calculated to secure for ourselves and our children, for the bereaved widow and her orphan, an adequate reward for their labor. The question naturally arises, how can this be accomplished? We reply by Union, and by Union alone.

Therefore, as a basis, we recommend to the several Unions composing this Convention, an immediate and energetic action in the formaton of Trades' Societies and Trades' Unions, in all parts of our country, knowing that the reason why the producers are oppressed and speculated upon, is on account of the divisions and want of union among themselves; to divide and conquer is the policy of the Aristocracy; to unite as one man, is an only hope of success. We would also urge on the Trade Societies in the United States, to open an immediate and extensive correspondence with other societies of the same trade as themselves, in all places where they exist, and where none are formed, to so-

licit their fellow-workmen to enter into immediate and energetic measures for their formation.

On the resolution referred to your Committee, requiring them to investigate what is the causes of the apathy manifested by the mechanics in the Eastern States, we would trace it first to competition amongst themselves for employment; secondly, a want of confidence in each other, causing petty jealousies and selfishness to predominate over that generous and manly pride, inherent in the human heart; and lastly, a want of proper information touching their own interests, showing them why he who produces all, receives but a fraction of his own labor; while he who riots in indolence, obtains all the luxuries, and enjoys all the pleasures of life.

To remove this, we recommend that proper information concerning the principles, the objects, and the policy of Trades' Unions, with the advantages that have resulted to those societies which compose those already in existence, and the benefits that must accrue to us by sustaining those Unions, be disseminated amongst the workingmen generally, both by pamphlets and by lectures; by precept, and by our own example; this we conceive to be our best, and in fact, our only remedy.

The subject of maintaining a healthful equilibrium of supply and demand, your Committee are convinced is of the most vital importance. In the Atlantic cities, the evils flowing from surplus labor, is perhaps more materially felt than in the interior of the manufacturing states; therefore, any propositions which may tend to equalize, or distribute in judicious proportions, labor throughout the country, must operate beneficially to the whole of those who depend on productive industry

for their subsistence. In one or more of the districts which is here represented, it is well known that they are at all times liable to sudden fluctuations in the prices of labor, from the accessions and increase of emigration. Those who thrive from the labor of the producer, incited by their avarice, are always ready to take the advantage of the description of persons above alluded to; the destitute situation of the stranger in our land, is seized upon with avidity by the capitalist, and agents are frequently appointed, whose duty it is to engage the operative at wages far below those established by Trade Societies. Your Committee do not intend to say that agents are generally appointed for this purpose; they merely state that this is one of the schemes resorted to for the express object of depreciating the price of labor.

That undue advantage can at all times be secured to the capitalist from surplus labor in any one place, cannot be doubted; the admission, then, of so serious a fact, should admonish this body to devise some plan whereby a district of country thus afflicted, could be immediately relieved. In order to carry so important an object into execution, the following propositions are submitted.

1st. That a Board of Commissioners, consisting of one from each Union, be appointed by this Convention.

2d. That it shall be one of the specific duties of each member of the Board, to obtain a precise list of the members belonging to the respective Societies of the Union to which he is attached.

3d. That said Commissioners, through correspondence, shall keep the different Unions constantly advised of the number of members, and likewise to give

such information as they may possess with regard to the demand for labor in their respective vicinities.

4th. That a portion of the National Fund be set apart to supply members with means for the purpose of enabling them to remove to such places as are not overstocked with numbers, at the same time making members drawing on this fund liable to refund the amount which they may have received, through the operation of the Society or Union of their separate locations. All of which is respectfully submitted.

DAVID T. SNELLBAKER, F. T. REMINGTON,
WM. MURPHY, B. S. GILLESPIE.

(f) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE STATE PRISON QUESTION

National Laborer, Nov. 26, 1836, p. 141.

The Committee to which was referred the State Prison question would respectfully Report,

That at the last meeting of the National Convention, there were several recommendations made in reference to this subject, which have not generally been acted upon; and they conceive, that a renewal of those recommendations, with an earnest appeal to the energetic action of the different Unions throughout the country, are sufficient grounds for the Committee to assume.

The Committee not having sufficient data, cannot, at this time, enter into a detail of the system, as acted upon in the different states: suffice it to say, that they are well aware, that in almost all of them, it appears to be the policy of our State Legislators to tax, almost exclusively, the producers for the support of the convicts, by teaching them mechanical occupations, that the result of their labor may be brought in ruinous competition with that of the honest artizan. Therefore, your

committee would recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, with a wish that the delegates would call the attention of their constituents to immediate action on this subject.

RESOLVED, that it be recommended to the Operatives in the different sections of the country, to use their strenuous exertions to effect a radical reform in their several Penitentiary Systems, as far as regards the employment and teaching of convicts in those occupations which affect their moral and pecuniary interests; believing that the employment of convicts upon articles to compete with those manufactured by the honest portion of the community to be manifestly unjust—and the plan of teaching them mechanical branches to be a system which tends to make industry in productive labor a degraded occupation.

RESOLVED, that a Committee of one from each Union represented herein, be appointed to report in writing, at the next Annual Convention, all information relative to this subject as it now exists in their several places—the various measures adopted to effect a reform—and the success attending such efforts since the action of this body.

W. D. ROBERTS, LEVI D. SLAMM, N. B. GARDNER, JOHN COMMERFORD, JAMES F. HALIDAY.

(g) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COÖPERATION

National Laborer, Dec. 3, 1836, p. 145.

The Committee on Co-operation would respectfully report, that the subject referred to them is one of great interest to all producers, requiring a more extensive investigation than the time of the present session will admit, in order to present a system by which the desirable results contemplated may be arrived at; and as this

Union is to hold an adjourned meeting, at which time a more detailed report, together with a system by which the producers of all wealth may fully enjoy the fruits of their industry, the Committee would therefore recommend the following resolution for adoption at present:

RESOLVED, that Trades' Unions, Trades' Societies, and mechanics of all branches in the United States and elsewhere, be requested to take measures to investigate the subject of Co-operation, and that meetings be held by all the Unions and Societies represented in this Union, at which the subject may be fully discussed, as it is the opinion of the Committee, that until a system of Co-operation is adopted by which the producers of wealth may also be its possessors, and consequently enjoy its benefits, that the great burden of the evils of which we so justly complain, will never be removed.

RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this Convention, that if Trades' Unions and Trade Societies were to apply their funds to the establishing of Co-operation in Societies suffering aggression, instead of exhausting their funds by supporting strikes, a much more permanent benefit would be rendered.

WM. THOMPSON, D. T. SNELLBAKER,
JOHN COMMERFORD, ELI DILLIN, GEO. WEIR.

(h) REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE TEN-HOUR SYSTEM ON GOVERNMENT WORKS

National Laborer, Dec. 10, 1836, p. 152.

The Committee appointed by the National Trades' Union, to report what progress had been made in the Ten Hour System on the Government works, respectfully report, that they have collected the information as far as lay in their power, believing at the same time,

with a trifling exception, that it is a perfect exposition of the subject matter under their consideration.

It is a matter of regret, the Committee are bound to acknowledge, that our Government, which should foster the weak and protect the helpless, has, under every administration, pursued a different course, and required more from the laborers in her employ than has been required by private citizens, which fact has been exhibited in the late difficulties between the authorities and the national workmen in the city of Philadelphia. Nor are the committee prepared to censure or condemn any particular officer or branch of the government, being convinced that if the laborers throughout the country would resort to the same measures of redress the same results would follow, which has happily been experienced in Philadelphia. At the last sitting of the National Trades' Union, a committee were appointed to draft a memorial to congress, asking for the establishment of the ten hour system on the government works. After the memorial had been signed and forwarded to the Hon. Eli Moore, that gentleman took occasion to offer it; but unlike the memorials of individuals for large donations of money, or the advance of officers' salaries, it was never noticed, or if noticed at all, only to receive the insults and sneers of "the honourable" – the people's servants. From motives concealed from the American people, no action was taken on the subject, and the memorial now lies on their table, probably never to be acted upon. The system however was not abandoned. It was agitated with vigor by the members of the Philadelphia Trades' Union, as well as the Unionists of other places. In the month of June, the shipwrights, joiners, and others engaged in the National Navy Yard in Philadelphia, met in great numbers, and

passed several strong resolutions against the system—they having previously struck for the hours.

All their resolutions and appeals to government, however, remained unanswered. In the month of August, a town meeting of citizens, mechanics and workingmen, were called, when a committee of workingmen were clothed with power to ask, as a right, of the President of the United States, orders for the adoption of the system, which had the desired effect, and which was communicated to the committee by the Secretary of the navy. Ten hours labor was and is consequently considered and acknowledged a sufficiency for one day, by the government, in Philadelphia. This measure, intended by the workingmen of Philadelphia to become universal in all the national works, has been given only to those who have claimed it. On the government works in Brooklyn, the old system is still pursued. In the city of New York the system is established, and the government, in the erection of custom houses or other public buildings or works, must conform to the custom. In the city of Baltimore, on the public works in progress, the hours have been given, after the mechanics had positively refused to be governed by the old system. At Annapolis and other places throughout Maryland, mechanics receive the hours. In the District of Columbia, Gosport, Norfolk, and throughout the southern states, 12 and 14 hours are still claimed by the government; also throughout all the states north and east of New York. Government work is generally confined to the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and the District of Columbia, out of which the hours are given in New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the only three states out of the eight in

which Trades' Unions exist. In addition to their duty, the committee will take the privilege of inquiring for the most effectual plan to establish the system. It is contended by many of our friends, and those the most enlightened, that congress has no right to legislate on this subject at all – that it properly belongs to ourselves – that we have the exclusive right to labor as long as we choose, for what wages we please, and that an interference on the part of congress would be an assumption of power derogatory to us as freemen, and destructive to our liberties as citizens. Without differing with them in opinion, the committee will observe, others declare it an unwarranted stretch of power in the executive to interfere in the matter, while others again contend he is the only source of redress – that he in the character of the "Executive Officer" only discharges his duty when redressing the known grievances of any portion of the community, particularly when there is no statute to the contrary, and when the redress interferes not with the rights or just privileges of others.

If the president or congress (the same principle would be involved with both) were to interfere, without the application of the people, or their representatives, then the case would be vastly different; for if either were allowed gratuitously to add to the price of labour, by the same precise rule, they could reduce it, and thus mould us to their wishes at pleasure. But such is not the case, as has been shown by the conduct of Government. The committee who addressed the President asked for the extension of the ten hour system, but believing it was not justifiable in so doing, or that the same channel was open to others, it will probably be withheld until they do as we have done, claim it for themselves. The committee are decided in their opinion,

that congress has the same right to reduce the hours of labour on public work, or advance their wages, as they have to settle the terms of service in the army or navy, or to do as has lately been done, increase the pay of the navy officers, because their salary had been fixed by one congress years ago, that was no obstacle to raising it, on the present occasion. We have seen the salaries of officers of the government raised and reduced, as circumstances required; then why do those, labouring for the government, require an exemption, when that exemption is injurious to them. Their necessities will compel them to submit without using their energies in the establishment of the system; but it is rendered morally certain by the simple, prudent, and rational mode of asking for that as well as any other act of justice. Those who acknowledge either executive or legislative to have the power of raising wages, must, under circumstances, allow them the power of reduction; but what would be the consequence. The public works would be neglected, and "government would be forced to accede to terms." This may appear as an anomaly, but still it is true. The corporation of Philadelphia, as well as other places, have settled the wages and hours of their workmen, it has never been disputed; and if legal in one case, it certainly is in another. Government, in all its branches, is intended for the transaction of the people's business, and if the people find any just right has been withheld, common sense will teach them to ask it, and if it be refused, the purposes of government are null and void. In the concluding of this report, the committee are more sanguine (from reason and experience) that good results would attend an application on the President than on congress, from various reasons not necessary to enumerate, and they would press its

necessity on every Trades' Unionist in the country. Petition government, let her establish the system on all her works, the example will be speedily felt and followed, and ten hours labor for a day will thus in spirit become a law of the land. The committee will conclude by offering the following.

RESOLVED, that this convention recommend to the various Unions the necessity of using their influence in favour of the ten hour system, as citizens unconnected with any organized Society, by requesting of the President of the United States his interference for the adoption of the system, whenever the government may require more than ten hours for a day's labor in the vicinity of such Union. JOHN CROSSIN, Pennsylvania; DAVID T. SNELLBAKER, Ohio; GEORGE WEIR, New Jersey; WM. M. ROBERTS, Maryland; JAMES MURRAY, Pennsylvania; A. WHITNEY, New York.

(i) CONSTITUTION

National Laborer, Nov. 5, 1836, p. 132.
This constitution was adopted on October 28, 1836.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL TRADES' UNION

PREAMBLE. We, the Delegates from the various Trades Unions in the United States in Convention assembled, in order to secure to ourselves and posterity the blessings of Union, do agree to adopt the following Constitution and By-Laws.

CONSTITUTION. ARTICLE 1. This Association shall be styled the National Trades' Union of the United States.

ARTICLE 2. The object of this Union shall be to promote the moral, physical, and intellectual condition of the working classes, and to advance their pecuniary interest.

ARTICLE 3. This Union shall be composed of Delegates from the several Trades' Unions in the United States, and from Trade Societies in places where no Union exists, whose term of service shall be one year. The ratio of representation shall be as follows:

Each Union of 200 members or less,	1	Delegate.
Not less than 300,	2	"
Do. 600,	3	"
Do. 1000,	4	"
Do. 1500,	5	"
Do. 2000	6	"
Each additional 1000,	1	"
Each Trade Society,	1	"
Not less than 200,	2	"

If the members exceed 300, the representation shall be the same as Trades' Unions; but no Trade Society, where a Union is in existence, shall be entitled to send a Delegate, unless the said Union shall refuse to do so.

Nothing herein contained, shall prevent a Trade Society from sending a Delegate, provided they defray his expenses.

[ARTICLE 4 is practically the same as Article 3, Section 2 of the 1835 constitution.]

ARTICLE 5. *Section* 1. The officers of the Union shall consist of a President, two Vice Presidents, a Recording and Corresponding Secretary, and Warden, and shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Convention.

[*Sections* 2 and 3 are practically the same as Article 1, Section 2 and 3 of the 1834 constitution.]

ARTICLE 6. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Union, preserve order, decide all questions of order, (subject to an appeal) have the casting vote when there is an equal division,

sign all orders on the Treasury, fill all vacancies during the recess, and all other duties appertaining to his office.

[ARTICLE 7 is practically the same as Article 8 of the 1835 constitution.]

ARTICLE 8. The Recording Secretary shall keep all books and papers belonging to his office, (which books and papers shall at all times be open for the inspection of the Delegates) keep a correct journal of all the proceedings of the Union, a list of the Unions and Trades represented, with the names of Delegates, countersign all orders drawn upon the Treasury, and at the expiration of his term of office, removal or resignation, deliver all such books and papers to his successor in office.

ARTICLE 9. The Corresponding Secretary shall keep a correct copy of all correspondence concerning this Union, read all communications, and in the absence of the Recording Secretary perform the duties of his office, and such other duties as may to him belong.

ARTICLE 10. The Treasurer shall receive all moneys belonging to the Union, pay all orders signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, and shall keep a correct account of all moneys by him received, and shall give such security as the Union may direct.

ARTICLE 11. There shall be a Committee of Finance, to consist of one Delegate from each Union, whose duties it shall be to audit the accounts of the Union at each meeting, direct the payment of the expenditures, and such other duties as may be assigned, and report the same.

ARTICLE 12. *Section* 1. The different Unions and Trade Societies composing the National Union, shall levy the sum of two cents per month from each of their members, for the purpose of creating a national fund, which moneys shall be transmitted to the Treasurer of

the National Union, at the next meeting of said Union.

Section 2. Any Union or Society belonging to this Union, who shall refuse or neglect to pay their dues at each annual meeting of the Union, shall forfeit their membership, and shall not be readmitted till all dues are paid.

ARTICLE 13. All acts or resolutions adopted by this Union, shall be equally binding on the different Unions and Societies who may ratify this Constitution.

ARTICLE 14. The National Union shall meet annually at such time and place as may be agreed upon at the adjournment of each session, and the delegates to be paid out of the Treasury.

ARTICLE 15. This Constitution shall go into operation when ratified by two-thirds of the Unions and Societies herein represented; and altered or amended by the concurrence of the same.

ARTICLE 16. The officers of this Union shall have power to convene the same when considered necessary, provided this power shall not be exercised more than three times in each year, and that thirty days' notice be given to each Union of the call of such meeting.

ARTICLE 17. By-Laws not repugnant to this Constitution may be adopted at any time, a majority of the Delegates present agreeing thereto.

ARTICLE 18. This Union shall not be dissolved, so long as three represented Unions are disposed to continue the same.

5. THE CONVENTION OF 1837

Public Ledger (Philadelphia), May 4, 1837, p. 2, col. 5.
This notice is the only evidence found, after diligent search, that a convention of the National Trades' Unions was held in 1837.

NOTICE.—NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE TRADES UNION

By a vote of the Convention, now in session at the Military Hall, Library street, I am instructed to invite the Workingmen and Citizens generally to attend its sittings.

JOSEPH D. MILLER, Sec'y of National Trades Union.

IX

NATIONAL TRADE UNIONS

INTRODUCTION

At least five national trade unions, or unions of local societies within a single trade, were organized and held conventions between 1835 and 1837. These organizations were evidently outgrowths of the National Trades' Union. The first national meeting of delegates from a single trade, indeed, that of the cordwainers, was held immediately after the adjournment of the National Trades' Union convention in 1835, and was a meeting of cordwainers' delegates to that body preliminary to the organization of their own union.

The first convention of a single trade was also that of the cordwainers, which met at New York in March, 1836, transacted a considerable amount of business, and adopted a constitution, which made special provision for the support of societies on strike. A long report was also adopted criticizing Judge Savage of New York for his decision in the case of the Geneva cordwainers and recommending that immediate measures be taken by the societies represented in the convention to sustain and support the journeymen of Geneva. There were present at this convention forty-five delegates from New Haven, Connecticut; New York and Brooklyn, New York; Newark, Elizabethtown, Rahway, Orange, New Brunswick, Bloomfield, Clinton, and Paterson, New Jersey; Philadelphia, Easton, Columbia, and Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and Wilmington, Delaware. Letters were received, too, from

cordwainers' societies at Troy, Albany, and Schenectady, New York, and Washington, D.C. Another convention of cordwainers was called to meet at New York in November, 1836, and still another to meet at Philadelphia in September, 1837, but no accounts of these conventions have been discovered.

In the fall of 1836 four other national trade unions were organized. The first was that of the comb-makers, which issued an address "to their brethren throughout the United States" urging them to keep up a regular system of correspondence which had evidently been begun some time previously. The carpenters and hand loom weavers, as was mentioned in the introduction to the chapter on the National Trades' Union, were holding conventions in Philadelphia at the time of the 1836 convention of the National Trades' Union. Of the weavers' convention no record of proceedings has been found, and the carpenters' convention appears to have held only two sessions, and to have devoted itself chiefly to the ten-hour question. Both of these conventions were called by Philadelphia unions. At the carpenters' convention delegates were present from Albany, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia.

There was also a convention of printers held at Washington in November, 1836, the initial impulse towards which came from a circular issued by the Typographical Association of Cincinnati in the fall of 1835. The constitution and address of this convention have been reprinted by Mr. Ethelbert Stewart in *Bulletin 61* of the United States Bureau of Labor. Extracts from their proceedings, including all important matter, are here given, together with a brief account of the convention held in New York in the fall of 1837. A call was issued for a third convention to be held in

Pittsburgh in September, 1838, but nothing further is heard of the union.

Among other trades the need of national alliance was recognized and local societies occasionally instructed their secretaries to open correspondence. Among these were the cabinet makers, coach-makers, spinners, saddlers, and iron-molders. Though none of these calls are known to have led to conventions, they are interesting as showing a wide organization of local societies, and attempts at national affiliation.

1. CORDWAINERS

(a) RESOLUTIONS REGARDING CORRESPONDENCE

National Trades' Union, April 25, 1835, p. 2, col. 4.
Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Ladies' Cordwainers Society of New York on April 20, 1835.

RESOLVED, that this Society may authorize the Secretary, whenever they may deem it expedient, to enter into a mutual agreement with Societies with whom this Society corresponds, not to admit as members, Journeymen coming from places where Societies of this nature are formed, except they produce a certificate of having conformed to all lawful requirements of such Society; and in case they come without a certificate, be allowed one month to procure one. . .

After the Resolution had been read, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, that we fully coincide with the Resolution passed by our fellow crafts of Philadelphia; and we will hereafter receive no Journeymen, as Members of our Society, who come from places where Societies, with whom we have correspondence are situated, unless they produce a certificate from such Society: and in case they bring no certificate with them, they shall be allowed one month to procure one. . .

(b) THE PRELIMINARY MEETING IN 1835

National Trades' Union, Oct. 10, 1835, p. 3, col. 3.
This meeting was held in the evening of the last day of the convention of the National Trades' Union.

At a meeting of Cordwainers' Delegates assembled in New York, holden at the house of Richard Honkins,

No. 15 York street, Oct. 6th, 1835, Mr. R. Honkins of New York, was called to the chair, and Julius Moulton of Troy, N.Y. was appointed Secretary. The chairman explained the object of the meeting, which was to endeavor to form a general Union of Cordwainers throughout the United States.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted.

RESOLVED, that we form ourselves into a committee for the mutual benefit of the craft.

The following preambles and resolutions were unanimously adopted: whereas, an agreement has been entered into between the associations of Cordwainers in the city of New York to recommend to the several associations of the same trade throughout the United States to form a National compact of the craft, therefore,

RESOLVED, that we the Delegates from the craft to the National Convention of Trades assembled in the city of New York, do approve of said recommendation, and agree to recommend the same to our several associations; and,

Whereas, a Circular of the Cordwainers' Associations of the town of Newark, N.J. embodying principles and regulations calculated to advance and preserve the rights and interests of Trade Associations; and

Whereas, said circular has been adopted by the Cordwainers' Association of the city of New York, and various other places in the United States, therefore,

RESOLVED, that we will use all our best exertions to forward the establishment of the principles and regulations in said circular in all associations of the craft in the United States with which we may become acquainted.

RESOLVED, that these proceedings be signed by the

Delegates and published in the *National Trades' Union*. Adjourned.

RICHARD HONKINS, of New York, (Men's Branch.); JULIUS MOULTON, of Troy, N.Y.; ASA SCRIBNER, of Newark, N.J. (Men's Branch); WILLIAM E. BOGART, of N. York, (Ladies Branch.); A. W. MAYO, New Brunswick, N.J.; FRANCIS GALLAGHER, Baltimore, Maryland; E. M. LEONARD, Newark, N.J.; S. C. THOMPSON, Philadelphia, Penn.; N. B. GARDNER, Newark, N.J.; BARNARD NURNY, Newark, N.J.

(c) THE CONVENTION OF MARCH, 1836

(1) Call for the Convention.
National Trades' Union, Feb. 6, 1836, p. 2, col. 2.

CONVENTION OF CORDWAINERS. A Convention of Cordwainers will be holden in the city of New York, to commence on the first Monday in March, 1836, at the 14th Ward Hotel, corner of Grand and Elizabeth streets.

The objects of this Convention are – to endeavor to equalize the wages as nearly as possible – to create that concert of action necessary to ensure a steady and sufficient price for our labor, and to transact such other business as shall be considered requisite.

All Societies of Cordwainers throughout the United States are earnestly invited to send two or more delegates to this Convention. Published by order of the Ladies Cordwainers Society of New York.

HENRY MCENDOW, JOHN WORRALL,
Feb. 6.–4t ORAMEL BINGHAM – Committee.

(2) Proceedings, from the *National Trades' Union*, March 26, 1836, p. 1, col. 1-4.

The pamphlet proceedings of this convention which were ordered to be printed have never been found, and it is doubtful whether the proceedings were ever published except in the *National Trades' Union*, the only discovered copy of which is, unfortunately, somewhat mutilated.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION OF CORDWAINERS, holden in the City of New York, commencing on the first Monday in March, 1836.

The Delegates to the Convention assembled on the morning of the 7th of March, 1836, at the 14th Ward Hotel, in the City of New York, and organized by calling Mr. John Caney, of Philadelphia, to the Chair; Mr. Joel B. Foot, of New Haven, Conn., and Mr. Isaac Devou, of Wilmington, Del., were appointed Vice Presidents; and Mr. William Carnes, of New York, and Henry Lyon, of Newark, N.J., Secretaries.

The call of the Convention having been read and approved, the following gentlemen presented their credentials, and took their seats as members of the Convention:

NAMES OF DELEGATES AND THE SOCIETIES they represent. New Haven Society–Joel B. Foot, Daniel C. Augur; New York Society, (Ladies' Branch)–William Masterson, Cyrus A. Mead, Oramel Bingham; New York U.B. Society, (Men's Branch)–Henry M. Jackson, William Carnes, Richard Connolly; Newark, N.J., U.B. Society–Asa Scribner, Jerome Beers; Newark, N.J., Ladies' Shoe and Men's Pump Makers' Society–Moses Lee, Enos M. Leonard; Newark, N.J., Boot Fitters' Society–James H. Arbour; Newark, N.J., Fudge Boot and Shoe Makers' Society–William Sayre, Henry Lyon; Elizabethtown, N.J., Society–Samuel Davis, William Connell; Rahway, N.J., So-

ciety–J. B. Crowell, William Congar; Orange, N.J., Society–C. F. D. Jones, James Matthews, Garratt Ketchum; New Brunswick, N.J., Society–William Baker, William Knowles; Philadelphia, Pa., U.B. Society, (Men's Branch)–William English, Andrew Read, James Gibbons; Philadelphia, Pa., U.B. Society, (Ladies' Branch)–John Caney, William Tice, John F. Read; Easton, Pa., Society–David S. Roberts; Columbia, Pa., Society–William H. Thurber, William Donaldson; Lancaster, Pa., Society–Michael Bundel, Christian Gaston; Wilmington, Del., Society–Isaac Devou, John McGrann; Paterson, N.J., Society–A. D. Ackerman, Christian Brinkerhoff; Bloomfield, N.J., Society–William Mahar; Clinton, N.J., Society–Michael Riley, Ezra Gardner; Brooklyn, N.Y., Society–Thomas Jones, Daniel Hand, Isaac Robins.

Letters were received from Troy, Albany, and Schenectady, N.Y., and Washington, D.C., expressing their warmest approbation of the objects of the contemplated Convention, and declaring their readiness to co-operate in any measures the Convention may recommend; and expressing their regret that the severity of the season, and consequent expense of travelling, prevented their attendance by delegation. On motion, the letters were accepted, and copies of the proceedings ordered to be transmitted to the above Societies.

On motion, Messrs. Leonard, English, and Bingham, were appointed a Committee to draft rules of order for the government of this Convention. A motion was made to adjourn until 2 o'clock, and lost. Mr. Tice then offered the following resolution: resolved, that a committee of seven be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of forming a National Union of Cordwainers, and to report a Constitution for the government of the same.

On motion, the above resolution was laid on the table, to enable the Committee on Rules of Order to report.

The committee accordingly reported the following, which were accepted, and finally adopted as the Rules for the government of this Convention.

ORDER OF BUSINESS. 1st. The roll shall be called. 2nd. The minutes of the last meeting shall be read. 3rd. Unfinished business. 4th. Reports of committees. 5th. Miscellaneous business.

RULES OF ORDER. 1st. Every resolution or motion shall, at the request of the presiding officer, or any member be reduced to writing.

2nd. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn – to lay on the table – for the previous question – to postpone – to commit – or to amend.

3rd. Motions to adjourn, to lay on the table and for the previous question, shall be taken without debate.

4th. Every member about to speak, shall rise and address himself to the presiding officer, confine himself to the question under debate, and speak but twice on the same question, unless by permission from the Convention.

5th. When two or more persons rise at the same time, the Chair shall name the member to whom precedence is given.

6th. Motions to reconsider must be made by a member who has voted in the majority.

7th. At the request of one-fifth of the members present, the ayes and noes on any question may be taken and entered on the minutes.

8th. A majority of the Convention shall compose a quorum for the transaction of business.

9th. A motion to adjourn shall be always in order.

10th. Any rule or by-law may be suspended in its

operation for any particular occasion, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

11th. Each regulation or law, in order to be valid, shall be sanctioned by a majority of the members present.

12th. On all questions for filling up blanks, the largest number and longest time shall be first in order. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. . . Mr. Tice's resolution being the unfinished business of the morning, was then called up.

The resolution, after some discussion, was modified with the consent of the mover, and adopted as follows: resolved, that a Committee of seven be appointed to draft a plan of co-operation among the various Societies of Cordwainers of the United States, with a view of sustaining each other in all strikes within their respective limits. The following delegates were appointed said Committee: William English, C. F. D. Jones, Enos M. Leonard, Oramel Bingham, William W. Tice, Michael Bundle, and John McGrann.

Mr. Leonard offered the following resolution, which was adopted: resolved, that a Committee, to consist of one from each Society herein represented, be appointed to report the following particulars relative to each Society: 1st. What time has transpired since an advance has been obtained. 2nd. What per cent. was the advance. 3rd. Statement of the present wages. 4th. What societies contemplate an advance the present spring. 5th. What advance they expect. 6th. The number of members in each Society; and any other information the committee may deem expedient.

The following delegates were appointed said committee: D. C. Augur, O. Bingham, Henry M. Jackson, Asa Scribner, Moses Lee, James H. Arbour, William Sayre, Samuel Davis, J. B. Crowell, C. F. D.

Jones, William Baker, James Gibbons, John F. Read, Daniel S. Roberts, William Donaldson, Michael Bundle, Isaac Devou, A. D. Ackerman, William Mahar, and Michael Riley. . .

MORNING SESSION, March 8th. . . The Committees were called on to report. The Committee on a plan of co-operation not being ready to report, the Committee on Mr. Leonard's resolution reported, an abstract of which is as follows:

The numbers of the Craft represented in this Convention is upwards of five thousand, all of which (except the New Brunswick Society at present on strike) have advanced their wages during the past year. The average advance is about 16 per cent. Six Societies intend to advance their wages as soon as possible on an average of 11 per cent, and six Societies are uncertain whether a strike will take place or not. The Committee recommended that a Committee be appointed to compare the different lists of wages, and draft a general bill.

The report was on motion accepted, and pursuant to the recommendation of the Committee, the following resolution was adopted. Resolved, that a Committee of three from each branch be appointed to compare the different lists of wages, and draft a general bill.

The following delegates were appointed said Committee: Messrs. Mathews, Augur, and Gibbons, of the Men's branch, and Messrs. Masterson, Lee, and J. F. Read, of the Ladies' branch.

Mr. English submitted the following preamble and resolutions: whereas, a surplus of the products of labor is calculated in almost all cases to reduce the wages of labor; and whereas, the evils of excessive competition amongst the journeymen bears peculiarly heavy on those of our own trade; and, whereas, a reduction in the num-

ber of the hours of labor has been productive of beneficial results in the character and condition of other mechanics: with a view to enable the Journeymen Cordwainers of all branches to enjoy the advantages pecuniarily, intellectually, and physically resulting from a reduction of the number of hours of labor – be it resolved, that it is seriously recommended to the journeymen comprising the various Societies represented in this Convention, to reduce the number of their working hours, so as to conform as near as practicable to the rules adopted by outdoor mechanics, believing that by so doing they will be better enabled to obtain a proper compensation for their labor – inasmuch as the evils of an [Part of the report, evidently including the first and most of the second article of the constitution, is clipped out] labor, to promote unity and concert of action for its attainment, and to devise means for the moral, intellectual, and physical improvement of the operative Cordwainers of the United States.

ARTICLE III. Each Society, represented in this Association, shall be entitled to send delegates in proportion to their number of members, as follows, viz: a Society consisting of fifty members or less, shall be entitled to send one delegate; over fifty and under one hundred and fifty, two delegates; over one hundred and fifty and under five hundred, three delegates, and over five hundred members, four delegates.

ARTICLE IV. The government of the Association, shall be vested in a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Recording and a Corresponding Secretary, who shall hold office for one year.

ARTICLE V. All Societies entering into this Association shall hold regular quarterly correspondence, and shall impart to each Society represented all designs for

the improvement of the Trade for the ensuing quarter, and the means contemplated for their attainment.

ARTICLE VI. For all contemplated strikes for wages, or in resisting any reduction of the same, immediate notice shall be given to all the Societies represented in the Association. Special meetings of those Societies shall be called forthwith on the receipt of an official notice by the Secretary, and a levy of not less than six and one-fourth cents per week made upon each member to support such strikes—provided, that such levy shall not be made unless pecuniary aid is demanded by the Society on strike.

ARTICLE VII. Whenever any Society belonging to the Association shall be on strike, no certificate shall be granted by any other Society to its members for the purpose of visiting (with the intention of working,) the city or town where such strike exists. An infringement of this rule by any member after having obtained a certificate, shall be considered an act of scabbing, and shall subject the offender to a fine of not less than five dollars.

ARTICLE VIII. All moneys received by a Society demanding aid for the support of a strike from the other Societies belonging to the Association, shall be placed to the credit of the Society from which it is received, and any unappropriated portion thereof shall be refunded on demand—provided, that when moneys are to be refunded, it shall be done in exact proportion to the number of members of the Society contributing. And provided, also, that at the termination of a strike, an accurate account of all moneys received and disbursed shall be forwarded to each Society belonging to this Association.

ARTICLE IX. Whenever any member of a Society belonging to this Association shall enter a city or town

where a Society belonging to the Association may exist, and shall be unable to procure employment, to obviate the necessity of his working at reduced wages, ——— dollars shall be given to said member by such Society to enable him to pursue his journey.

ARTICLE X. These articles shall go into full and effective operation with all Societies agreeing with the same, on and after the fourth Monday of September, 1836.

All of which is respectfully submitted. Signed,
WILLIAM ENGLISH, E. M. LEONARD, O. BINGHAM, C. F. D. JONES, JOHN MCGRANN, MICHAEL BUNDEL, WILLIAM W. TICE– Committee.

The report was on motion accepted, and each article adopted separately.

The Committee appointed to draft a standard list of wages, made a report, which was accepted. . .

MORNING SESSION, March 9th. The Convention met pursuant to adjournment and on motion, the rules of the Convention were suspended for the purpose of considering the decision of Judge Savage in relation to combinations. The decision was read, and Mr. English offered the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted. Whereas, this Convention has assembled for the purpose of devising means to improve the moral and physical condition of the Journeymen Cordwainers of the United States; and whereas, it is through the action of several Societies represented in this Convention, that it is contemplated to affect such improvement, and by no other means; and, whereas, all Trade Societies are deemed by Judge Savage unlawful conspiracies, and are thereby rendered obnoxious to the action of the Statute Law, therefore, be it resolved, that a Committee of five be appointed to examine the opinion of

Judge Savage, and report thereon such preamble and resolutions as may be warranted by that document. Messrs. English, Leonard, Bingham, Lee, and Mathews, were appointed said committee.

The consideration of the report of the committee on a Standard List of Wages was resumed, and after some discussion the following resolution, offered by Mr. English, was adopted: resolved, that the Convention resolve itself into sub-committees – each delegation forming one sub-committee: said sub-committee to report on the highest bill of wages contemplated to be struck for the ensuing season; the said reports or bills of wages to be referred to a special committee of seven from each branch, in order to draft therefrom a standard bill of wages for the societies represented in this Convention.

The Convention then adjourned for thirty minutes, in order to give time to the sub-committees to prepare their reports. At the expiration of the time the Convention was called to order; and the sub-committees having reported, the following delegates were appointed as the special committees to whom the reports were referred: Messrs. Jackson, Scribner, Gibbons, McGrann, Donaldson, Lyon, and Foot, were appointed on the Men's branch – and Messrs. J. F. Read, Mead, Bundel, Augur, Lee, Devou, and Congar, were appointed on the Ladies' branch. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. The Convention met pursuant to adjournment; the roll was called; and the minutes of the last session read and approved. The Committee appointed to make out a standard list of wages, reported on the women's branch – which report was accepted.

The Committee on the Men's Branch not being

ready to report, the following resolution was offered by Mr. Jones, and adopted: resolved, that when this Convention adjourn, it shall be to meet at this house at 7 o'clock this evening, and form a procession, preceded by the officers, and to proceed to Cronley's, 15 Park Row, to attend the meeting of the General Trades' Union of this city, pursuant to the invitation of that body.

Mr. Caney offered the following resolution, which was adopted: resolved, that this Convention do hereby recommend to the different Societies herein represented, the propriety of encouraging the formation of Societies of the Females working on Boot and Shoe-Binding and Cording, for the purpose of increasing their wages.

The following resolution, accompanying law, was offered by Mr. Caney, and adopted: resolved, by this Convention, that the annexed law of the U.B. Society of Journeymen Cordwainers on the Ladies Branch of the city and county of Philadelphia, be, and is hereby referred to the consideration of the various Societies herein represented:

LAW 4TH. No member of this Society shall instruct any apprentice or boy of any employer until within six months of his being free, under a penalty of twenty dollars: Provided, that nothing herein shall go to annul any written or legal obligation made by any member with an employer respecting apprentices or boys.

The following resolution was then offered by Mr. English: resolved, that it be recommended to the various Societies represented in this Convention, that they take up the subject of Apprentices, so as to prevent any member of a represented Society from taking more than two apprentices at one time: one of which shall not be taken until within the last year of the time of a previous apprentice: provided, that no existing contract shall be impaired. . .

AFTERNOON SESSION. . . The consideration of the resolution offered by Mr. English was resumed, and, after considerable debate adopted.

The following preamble and resolution were offered by Mr. Beers, and adopted: whereas, we, as delegates to this Convention, feeling a deep interest in the welfare of the Cordwainers throughout the United States, and knowing the rates of wages in the eastern states are far below those given in the middle and southern states; and being assured, that Societies being formed and well-organized, is the plan best calculated to insure prices equivalent for our labor—therefore entertaining these views we deem it expedient and necessary to adopt some measures requisite to carry into effect the object of this Convention, viz., to equalize the wages throughout the United States as far as practicable, in proportion to the expense of living—therefore resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to prepare and publish an address to the Cordwainers of the United States, more particularly the eastern states, during the recess of the Convention, urging them to employ all honorable means to obtain a just compensation for their labor. Messrs. English, Caney, and J. F. Read were appointed said committee.

On motion, it was resolved, that the Committee on the Address be empowered to publish 1000 copies of the same, and draw upon the Publishing Committee for the expenses.

Mr. Leonard offered the following resolutions, which were adopted. Resolved, that this Convention recommend, that the Ladies' Cordwainers of Newark, the Cordwainers of Elizabethtown, N.J., the Cordwainers of Bloomfield, N.J., and the Ladies' Cordwainers of Philadelphia, and such other Societies, as may deem it expedient—strike for an advance of wages as soon as

possible; and that we also recommend that each of the above Societies in asking an advance, present a Bill of Wages, which shall not be less than a reduction of 6 per cent on the Standard Bill adopted by this Convention. Resolved, that each Society herein represented, be recommended to use all proper exertions to procure the adoption of the Standard Bill of Wages, agreed upon by this Convention, as soon as practicable.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. English was adopted: resolved, that the importation of foreign boots and shoes, of all kinds, is destructive to the interests of the journeymen engaged in the manufacture of these indespensable articles, inasmuch as they are disposed of at reduced prices, and thereby cause a reduction of wages, it is therefore recommended to the various Societies herein represented, to take immediate and efficient measures to prevent the disposal of such work, by refusing their labor to any person engaged in importing or vending such articles.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. J. F. Read, and adopted: resolved, that the practice of manufacturing boots and shoes in the various penitentiaries of the United States, be earnestly recommended to the consideration of the Societies represented in this Convention, so that the subject of State Prison work coming in competition with that of the honest Cordwainer may be fairly and fully investigated, and if found practicable, to refuse to work for any establishment that may hold for sale boots or shoes manufactured by convicts in the penitentiaries.

The following resolutions were offered by Mr. English, and adopted: resolved, that it be seriously recommended to the Men's Branch Society of Journeymen Cordwainers of the city of New York, to alter their laws

so as to admit all men engaged in the making of men's work into their Society, believing, as we do, that the only way to renovate the trade is to enlist the feelings and services of all connected with the business.

RESOLVED, that the present officers of this Convention be acknowledged as the regular officers of the Association just formed, until the first annual meeting of the Association in September next, and that they have power to call said meeting and designate the place.

The following resolutions offered by Mr. J. F. Read, were adopted: resolved, that a copy of the proceedings of this Convention be transmitted to each of the Societies that this Convention has any knowledge of, earnestly requesting of them to give the recommendations therein contained their earliest consideration. Resolved, that the Secretaries of this Convention be, and hereby are instructed, to carry the above resolution into effect in conjunction with the publishing Committee. . .

The following resolutions were offered and adopted. Resolved, that the Committee on Publication be instructed to procure five hundred copies of the proceedings of this Convention in pamphlet form, and also to request its publication in the *National Trades' Union.*

RESOLVED, that the Committee on Publication be empowered to make out a bill of the whole expenses incurred by this Convention, and assess the different Societies herein represented in proportion to their numbers.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of this Convention be presented to Mr. Wm. R. Yarraington, [sic] for his liberality in furnishing a room, for the use of this Convention.

RESOLVED, that this Convention do now adjourn.

(d) CALL FOR A CONVENTION IN NOVEMBER, 1836

National Laborer, Oct. 22, 1836, p. 123, col. 4.

TO THE TRADE SOCIETIES of Journeymen Cordwainers in the United States.

The undersigned officers of the late convention of Cordwainers, held by appointment in the city of New York, in March last, have agreed that the Convention shall meet again in the said city of New York, and the time of meeting shall be on the second Monday (the 14th of the month) of November next.

Those Societies who have adopted the Constitution of the "National Co-operative Association of Journeymen Cordwainers," are requested to send their required number of Delegates to represent their interest in said Convention. The Delegates to be provided with the necessary credentials from the Societies they are chosen to represent.

All Societies of Journeymen Cordwainers throughout the United States, are now earnestly solicited to send one or more persons to this meeting, or address thereto such communications as they deem proper for the advancement of the objects in view. By authority of the officers.

President, JOHN CANEY, of Philadelphia;
Vice President, JOEL B. FOOT, of N.H., (Con.);
Rec. Secretary, WM. CARNS, of New York.

(e) CALL FOR A CONVENTION IN SEPTEMBER, 1837

Public Ledger, Sept. 23, 1837, p. 2, col. 5.

The National Association of Journeymen Cordwainers of the U. States, will assemble in this city, on Monday next, the 25th inst. at the Military Hall, at 10 o'clock.—By order, Wm. E. Bogert, New York, *Pres-*

ident; W. L. McCauley, Baltimore, W. R. Boggit, Albany, *Vice Presidents*; A. A. Eager, Baltimore, *Rec. Secretary*; D. A. Osborn, Brooklyn, *Cor. Secretary*.

The Journeymen Cordwainers of the City and County, are invited to attend, as seats will be provided for their accommodation by the Committee of Arrangements.

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2. COMB-MAKERS

National Laborer, Sept. 10, 1836, p. 98, col. 3.
There is no evidence that the "next convention" here referred to was ever held.

Whereas: we, the Delegated Members from the several Associations of Journeymen Comb Makers, now assembled for the purpose of consulting the best interests of the Trade, in general, deem it a duty we owe to our constituents, to lay before them a statement of the prospects of the different Associations of which we are composed. And although the Associations have not succeeded in their designs as well as could be wished, yet it is still in some degree cheering, that in many instances, the Trade has been much improved. We have, however, to regret that our brethren of the more Eastern States have not joined us in convention, and that at present we do not profess any certain knowledge of their prospects; the reason of this is perhaps owing in great measure to the neglect of keeping up a regular correspondence between the different Societies, and we now earnestly urge it upon the different Associations, to have more frequent communications with each other. Many reports have been put in circulation that have been detrimental to the best interests of the Journeymen. First; that certain Societies did not strike for an advance on the 16th of March last; and that others had been broken up. Reports, we presume, got into circulation by Employers who are opposed to the interests of the Journeymen; and by Journeymen who do not regard their own interests as they should. Reports which, we are happy to say, are untrue, as far as we have any cer-

tain knowledge; the effects of these reports might prove fatal to Associations, where correspondence is neglected. Therefore, we do earnestly recommend to all not to neglect giving, at least, monthly information to all Associations that are now formed, of the advantages that must result from an Association of Journeymen. And we would earnestly impress the necessity of union amongst the individual members of all Societies, to drop all selfish feelings, and to remember that the prosperity of one individual depends upon the prosperity of all. There is one truth that we should have strongly impressed upon our minds; hitherto we have worked too much with our hands, and too little with our heads – this has been an error. When will Mechanics and Workingmen be wise, wise to their own interest; let us attend more to the wants of the mind, than we have heretofore. Working less with the body for a better compensation, cultivating our minds, in order to work less time. We find but little difference in man in any quarter, we find him placed in all stations, as circumstances permit him – from the elevated Emperor, to the subservient Slave; why do we find this variety? is it not for the want of education on the part of the poor, that we find forms of government established, where power is placed in the hands of the few to govern the many? we must answer, it is. We find man placed under as great a variety of circumstances, probably in this country as any other, and we find man as willing to trample on his fellow man here, as in the most despotic government. Though we boast of our republic, its laws administered by the servants of the people, its liberal Institutions &c.; how do we enjoy ourselves under its laws? how do we feel the benefits of its public Institutions? First, by being indicted as

conspirators, for contending for what is right, and repelling what is tyrannical and unjust – for asking a fair remuneration for our services, and for supporting the weak against the strong; how do we feel the benefit of our public Institutions? by being forced to support them. Our wages reduced, our families turned out of doors in an inclement season of the year, and we thrown into prison, which they (good souls) take care to provide for us. Under consideration of these facts, we urge upon the working classes the necessity of forming themselves into Societies, as it is the only means by which we can obtain our object. We would remind the members of the different Societies, of the propriety of conducting themselves in a mild and prudent manner, as our cause is a just one, and can be obtained only by union among ourselves.

What shall we say more, can we say anything that will have a tendency to bind us more close to our own interest? We have seen the salutary effects that a union in other trades has accomplished; and shall we now turn back after doing what we have done towards bettering our condition; without unity of action, we can accomplish but little: the laws of our country are formed for the benefit of the many, and shall the many submit to the dictation of the few, to the injury of the many: let our motto be, "the greatest good to the greatest number." Let us therefore, support our just rights, and not be trampled under foot. We have not been too hasty in our endeavours to promote the general interests of the trade; we have weighed the matter well, and are convinced, that the position we have taken is just and right, and that it is a duty we owe to ourselves, to our families, and those depending upon us for support, that we must persevere in our humble efforts to

promote the interests of the cause in which we have embarked; we do not wish to use any harsh epithets towards those Employers who have opposed us in our endeavours to better our condition: convinced that if they would take the same view of the subject that we have, they would not oppose us, but would see that it is to their advantage, that a uniformity of prices should be established, and that it would promote the interests of all concerned in the trade, either as Employers or Journeymen. We leave the subject for the present, hoping that at the next convention, the subject will be taken up by more able hands, and that these few remarks may be of some benefit to us all. Approved of in Convention.

JOSEPH DOWLING, Chairman.
HENRY D. JOHNSON, Secretary.

3. CARPENTERS

(a) CALL FOR A CONVENTION

National Laborer, Oct. 15, 1836, p. 119, col. 5.

At a meeting of the Journeymen House Carpenters' Association of the City and County of Philadelphia held Aug. 19th, it was unanimously

RESOLVED, that a National Convention of Carpenters be called to meet at Philadelphia on the 4th Monday of October ensuing.

It is confidently hoped that all Journeymen House Carpenters in the United States, who are united in Societies, will take measures to send delegates to the Convention. An earnest invitation is also given to those in places where no Society exists, to choose delegates from a general meeting of the trade.

WM. THOMPSON, Pres.—WM. W. JEFFRIES, Sec.

(b) PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

National Laborer, Nov. 19, 1836, p. 140, col. 3.

There is no evidence that the convention called for April, 1837, at Baltimore, was ever held.

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF JOURNEYMEN HOUSE CARPENTERS

Military Hall, Philada., Oct. 24th, 1836.

The Convention organized by calling Amaziah Whitney, of Albany, to the chair, and appointing John Parsons, of Pittsburg, Secretary. The President having read the call of the Convention, it was resolved, that the Delegates present their credentials, when Delegates from Albany, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia, appeared and took their seats in the Convention.

On motion of James Douglass, a committee of three were appointed to draft a Constitution and By-Laws for the government of this Convention, when the Convention appointed James Douglass, of Washington; William Thompson, of Philadelphia; John Parsons, of Pittsburg.

On motion of Allen Bard a committee of three were appointed to draft an address to be submitted to the different societies throughout the United States, when Allen Bard, Wm. Thompson, and John T. Ash were appointed that committee. On motion of Wm. Thompson, a committee of five were appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions on the ten hour system, when John Parsons, Andrew Craig, Allen Bard, Robert E. Shultz, and John T. Ash were appointed that committee. . .

WEDNESDAY EVENING, 7 o'clock. . . The committee to draft a constitution and by-laws, reported that they deem it advisable to defer the drafting of a constitution till the next meeting of the Convention.

The committee which was appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions on the Ten Hour System, reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were, on motion, taken up separately and adopted.

PREAMBLE. The time having arrived when it behooves all men attached to the mechanical branch of Carpentry in the United States, to take united steps to further and accomplish the great design of establishing the ten hour system throughout this great country of liberty (the United States of America) we therefore deem it an imperative duty incumbent on all men, as well as all Associations, to lay their whole strength to it, in order that equality may reign amongst us, and that the power of oppression may be subdued, and the oppressor may feel the scourge of his own rod, by the

mighty and overruling arm of justice which the working men of this country ask for, nothing more, and which can be obtained by unity and perseverance, is what this delegation wishes to imbibe in the minds of our fellow-workmen throughout the country, and hoping that they will employ every effort to accomplish this great design. It is the sincere desire of this delegation, that the Carpenters in all the states, counties, cities, towns, and villages in the United States, do forthwith set every forcible argument to work, and to use all lawful means to have trade societies and union of societies established in each state, county, city, borough, &c., to co-operate one with another, to obtain the great object of equal rights with mankind, which is most desired, and which would have a great tendency to ameliorate the condition of the working classes of the United States, and make them able not only for daily labor, but fit them for the highest offices in the gift of the people, which cannot be obtained if the workman has to be nailed to the bench from daylight to dark, without any intermission, save to eat his scanty meals. It is the opinion of this delegation that the ten hour system should be established throughout the United States; for as all men are born free and equal, it is highly important that the Workingmen should enjoy a portion of that equality, that their days may not be cut short for want of recreation that is so essential to mankind.

And whereas it is strongly recommended by this delegation that an Annual Convention of Carpenters of the United States would be a great benefit to the cause, and would extend that knowledge so anxiously sought for in all parts of the country, notwithstanding the extraordinary exertions that is put in opposition to the Workingmen, by some of the executive officers.

And whereas the great work of reformation has taken place in many of the principal cities of the United States, and knowing the happy results of such a change, we look forward for the day when it shall have extended throughout the whole country, when every Workingman will be awakened to a sense of his right and duty, to dispose of his labor as he may think best, and not to be governed by the will and pleasure of an unprincipled and unfeeling employer. We view this as an important matter—one that must benefit the whole laboring community, and injure none but those that would trample upon the rights and liberties of the working classes of the community. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the objects of this Convention is to establish and secure the ten hour system, and such other regulations in our trade as may be conducive to the interests of the Journeyman House Carpenters of the United States.

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this Convention that there should be a corresponding uniformity of prices throughout the different towns, villages, and cities in the United States. It should then be the duty of every member of the trade to concentrate and use all his influence in establishing societies where they do not now exist, in order to consolidate the great body of the trade, and bring them into one solid phalanx which would be immoveable.

RESOLVED, that this Convention strongly recommend to all Journeymen House Carpenters of the various cities, towns, villages, &c. in the United States, to use all fair and honorable exertions to establish Trade Societies and Trade Unions.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of this delegation be tendered to those Associations that have taken it into con-

sideration to send delegates to represent them in the National Convention of Carpenters, and hoping at their next meeting that all Societies in the United States will be represented; for in union and perseverance against oppression, the oppressor must fall, and that under the scrutinizing eyes of justice.

RESOLVED, that the convention recommend to the different Societies of Journeymen House Carpenters to make correspondence one with another, as will be essential to the interest of the whole as a body.

RESOLVED, that this Convention highly approve of holding a Convention of Journeymen House Carpenters of the United States, at such time and place as the respective Societies may from time to time designate.

The committee appointed to prepare an address, reported that owing to the limited time allotted to the committee, they had not been able to discharge that duty.

On motion, resolved, that this Convention is of opinion that it is expedient to hold a National Convention of Carpenters, on the first Monday of April, 1837, at the city of Baltimore, and that the Corresponding Secretary be instructed to ascertain the views of as many of the Societies as possible, and if agreed to by a majority of the Societies, that he be instructed to call the Convention at that time, or whatever time Societies may propose.

On motion, Andrew Craig was then chosen Corresponding Secretary. . .

4. HAND LOOM WEAVERS

(a) THE CALL OF THE NEW YORK WEAVERS

National Trades' Union, Feb. 13, 1836, p. 2, col. 3.

A special meeting of the Hand Loom Weavers' Association, of this city, was held this evening in New Spring Garden, for the purpose of devising measures to obtain an advance of prices, the present scale being totally inadequate to procure the means of a comfortable and respectable living to which their industry so justly entitles them. Various speakers addressed the meeting, and all agreed in representing their situation as yearly becoming worse in consequence of the advance of house rents and other necessary expenses, without a corresponding advance of wages. The following resolutions were then offered by Mr. Joseph Thompson, and unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, that the wages at present obtained by Hand Loom Weavers is quite incompetent to procure the means of a comfortable sustenance, and far below that which is generally obtained by other mechanics.

RESOLVED, that it is, in the estimation of this Association, highly necessary that a Convention of Delegates from the several bodies of Associated Hand Loom Weavers in the United States, shall be held, on or before the 8th of March next, at Philadelphia, in order fully to investigate the evils which affects our trade; whether they result from forcing or home competition, or from the product of the power loom, or from all these and other sources; and that a remedy, if possible might be devised. Likewise, that the Delegates might

arrive at a clear knowledge where to fix the standard of prices to be paid for the various fabrics of Hand Loom Weaving throughout the United States.

RESOLVED, that the Associated Weavers of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Steubenville, and Paterson, are requested to forward immediately communications to their brethren in New York on this subject.

JOHN JOHNSTON, Pres't pro tem. – HUGH GLASS, Sec'y.

New York, Feb. 8, 1836.

(b) THE CALL OF THE PHILADELPHIA WEAVERS

National Laborer, Oct. 22, 1836, p. 123, col. 4.

At a special meeting of the Hand Loom Weavers' Trade Association, No. 1, of the city and vicinity of Philadelphia, held September 23d, it was on motion

RESOLVED, that our Corresponding Secretary write to New York, Baltimore and Steubenville, and to other places in the United States, where Weavers' societies were known to exist, and request said societies to send delegates to represent them in the National Convention of Weavers, to be held at Philadelphia, on the fourth Tuesday in October ensuing.

Having complied with the above injunction, and receiving no answer except from the Weaver's society of New York, we therefore take this opportunity of again requesting societies to send delegates to represent them in said Convention, as business which will enhance the trade is anticipated.

The Convention will be held at the house of Mr. Thomas Crilly, north Sixth street, near Market.

JOHN HAYES, President. – WM. ASPINALL, Secretary.

5. PRINTERS

(a) EXTENSION OF THE AREA OF COMPETITION

National Trades' Union, Oct. 17, 1835, p. 2, col. 4.

The following extracts from the circular issued by the Cincinnati Typographical Association are said to have comprised "the principal part of it." No complete copy of this circular has been found, but other documents relating to the first convention of the National Typographical Union have been republished in *Bulletin* no. 61 of the United States Bureau of Labor.

Our association, as societies, is not to oppress others, but for self-defence. To secure a living compensation for our labor, and to sustain the generous and liberal employer who is willing to allow such compensation. To defend ourselves from undermining and base-spirited journeymen; and thereby protect our friends among employers, from those of their number who would take advantage of their liberality – who would under-work master's prices, by dispensing a beggarly pittance to their journeymen. We have still another and a higher motive – it is benevolence. We create a fund, for the relief of those whom chance, or sickness, has reduced to distress.

There are persons in the community, who bitterly denounce such combinations among journeymen mechanics. Who are they? Is it the fair dealing and honorable master workman? No! he rejoices that, as the regulations of our society place all on the same level, his neighbor cannot undermine him by oppressing his journeymen. Those only object, who would live by grinding others; or the mean and sordid wretch, who foresees, from such measures among operatives, an increased price for mechanical products, and grudges

the few extra coppers he may have to pay to the always ill-requited laboring man. Employers cannot suffer by us, unless we pursue a suicidal policy to ourselves. If our regulations bear oppressively anywhere, it is on the public – on the purchasers of the products of our labor, who are alone affected by the graduations of our prices.

Convinced, therefore, that it is correct for us to associate for the purpose of maintaining our rights, it is also necessary to adopt such measures as will give force and effect to our union. Hitherto, although the upright and honorable of our craft, in the different societies of the country, have struggled manfully, and often successfully, it has always been at a sacrifice – it has always, too, been a struggle. Success, however, has not invariably attended their efforts, even when the evils they sought to remedy were of the most aggravated kind. The cause, in a great measure, of this want of success, has been exhibited by our experience here. Against resident journeymen, we have had but few cases of complaint; but we have been seriously annoyed by unprincipled persons from a distance; and we fear that a considerable part of the floating mass of journeymen printers is composed of such characters. They conduct themselves well, only where and while it may be for their immediate interest; and appear to scent a "turn out," as vultures do a carrion. To banish from the craft, or render harmless, such as are not governed by a high sense of honor and regard for the rights of their fellow-workmen, all have felt to be an essential point; but there has as yet been a want of system and energy in the means used to effect it. Each society has felt satisfied in banishing them from their own city, without reflecting on the injury they may do by driving them, unpublished,

upon their neighbors; so the ejectment of them from one place, has often prepared the way for a strife against them in another. This should, and can be avoided. There has always been a reciprocity of feeling between the different societies: let us endeavor to wake it into an active principle. Let us seek for a constant and regular communication with our sister societies, that we may give and receive advice of unworthy persons of the craft, and pursue the same rigid rules of exclusion towards the enemies of other societies, that we do towards those who oppose us. And let the certificate of membership in a typographical society, be no longer looked upon as a mere evidence of regular standing; but let it call forth our active friendship for the bearer—our zealous efforts to get him into employment, in preference to those who have no such claim upon us.

We propose no new measure here. We only seek to put in effective operation, rules by which all our societies profess to be governed; but which, hitherto, has been little else than profession. The power that unity and zeal in action will give to each society, is as much superior to that which they now possess, as the combined power of the states of our political union is to that of a single one. We may defy opposition. Will any one say, that circumstances do not require the creation of this power? We would direct the attention of such to Boston, where innovation has succeeded innovation upon the rights of the journeymen—to Philadelphia, where the journeymen have been long ground down to the dust; and where every attempt to raise themselves, has only eventuated in calling down fresh marks of oppression. We believe the signs of the times imperatively call upon us to arouse to action; or the name of a printer, which we have been proud to find as second to none

among artisans, in point of respectability, will become a term of reproach – a by-word of contempt.

There is one good effect which must naturally flow from drawing closer the bonds of alliance between typographical societies, which we would not omit to mention. Societies must spring up in many places, where, under present circumstances, they cannot be sustained; for it is easy to see, that if a rigid, energetic, and universal proscription of rats should become the order of the day, and we in word and in deed co-operate with each other, in all things, it will be as practicable to establish societies in inferior places, as in our largest cities. And we would hail with pleasure, as the opening prospect of a bright day to our profession, the establishment of a chain of societies from one extreme of the Union to the other, governed by such regulations, and marked by such spirit and firmness in action, that the unprincipled may no where find a foothold, and the scurvy principle of ratting be for ever extinguished.

(b) THE CONVENTION OF 1836

Proceedings of the National Typographical Convention, Washington, 1836.

Extracts from the *Proceedings* of the convention, as published in pamphlet form in 1836. The Constitution, the "Address to Local Societies," and the "Address to Printers throughout the United States," are reproduced in United States Bureau of Labor *Bulletin* no. 61, 974-981.

Monday, November 7, 1836. The Delegates from different Typographical Societies of the United States convened at the City Hall, Aldermen's Chamber, and proceeded to organize themselves into a body, by calling Mr. Charles A. Davis, of New York, to the Chair, and appointing Mr. Wm. W. Curran, of Washington, to act as Secretary. . .

The Committee appointed to examine the credentials of the Delegates from the respective Typographical Associations, beg leave to report: that they have performed that duty, and have no hesitation in pronouncing them genuine; that the Convention should, therefore, accredit the following gentlemen, as duly authorized to represent the respective societies to which they are attached:

From Baltimore–Messrs. John F. Cook, George Johnston, and William Holliday; from New York–Messrs. Charles A. Davis, John L. Brown, and A. H. Krauth; from Harrisburgh–Messrs. Wm. Sharpless, Ezra Grossman; from Philadelphia–Mr. Martin H. Andrews; from Washington–Messrs. John Stockwell, James Clephane, and Wm. W. Curran.

(Several apologetic letters were received from other Societies for not sending Delegates; but highly approving of the Convention, and expressive of their desire to be governed by its decisions.)

On motion of Mr. Curran, the Convention then proceeded to the election of its officers. Mr. William Holliday, of Baltimore, was unanimously elected President; Mr. John L. Brown, of New York, Vice President; and Mr. Wm. W. Curran, of Washington, Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Clephane, resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to wait upon Mr. Force, Mayor of this city, (a member of the Columbia Typographical Society,) to tender to him the good wishes of the Convention, and to invite him to honor it with his presence. In compliance with the above resolution, Messrs. Clephane, Davis, and Sharpless, were appointed said committee.

Mr. Force was announced by the committee, and welcomed in an ardent manner by an address from the

President, and by the congratulations of the members of the Convention individually. Mr. Force, in an appropriate manner, thanked the Convention for the courtesy extended towards him; and expressed his sincere wishes for the success of the efforts of the Convention in promoting the best interests of the profession which it represented. . .

A communication from the New Orleans Typographical Association, appointing Messrs. A. F. Cunningham and Charles F. Lowrey delegates to represent said Association in the National Convention, was received and read. . .

Mr. Curran submitted the following resolution: resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to report to the Convention some regulations for the government of apprentices throughout the United States.

The resolution was read and adopted; and Messrs. Clephane, Brown, and Johnston, were appointed said committee.

Mr. Curran submitted the following resolution: resolved that a committee of three be appointed to report to the Convention a plan for a Chapel for the government of offices under the jurisdiction of subordinate societies. The resolution was read and adopted; and Messrs. Stockwell, Krauth, and Lowrey, were appointed said committee. . .

The following communication was received from Mr. Grossman, one of the delegates from Harrisburgh:

To the PRESIDENT OF THE NAT. TYP. CONVENTION.

SIR: I do hereby appoint Mr. James F. Haliday as one of the delegates to represent the Harrisburgh Typographical Society in this Convention, as I have been authorized to do so in the name of the society. EZRA GROSSMAN, Delegate.

. . . Mr. Clephane, from the Committee on Ap-

prentices, made a report, which was read; and on motion of Mr. James F. Haliday, the report was referred to the Committee on the Constitution.

. . . Mr. Stockwell, from the Committee on Chapels, made the following report; which was read, and the committee discharged from the further consideration of the subject:

The Committee to whom was referred the subject of establishing Chapels in the several printing offices in the United States, beg leave to report: that as Chapels are instituted for the adjustment of matters of minor import, they are of the opinion that the ends intended to be gained by their establishment would be more satisfactorily attained by referring them directly to the society or association existing where the difficulty may arise. Your committee think that this course would have a tendency to prevent disputation on trivial matters, and would cause men to be more cautious in originating difficulties when they are to be referred to their respective associations or societies. With these views, your committee would suggest that no action should be had on this subject, and ask to be discharged from its further consideration. . .

Mr. James F. Haliday, from the committee to which was referred the subject of a card of the National Society, made a report, which was read, and ordered, that it be incorporated as an article in the constitution.

Mr. Stockwell submitted the following resolution, which was read and adopted: resolved, that it be recommended to the several local societies of the United States to inquire into, and report to the National Typographical Society, the number of newspapers and periodical publications, together with all offices of whatever character, under the immediate control of practical

printers, at the time of making such reports; also, those under the control of others than printers, and such other information as may be in possession of said local societies, in reference to the profession generally.

On motion of Mr. Stockwell, the Convention adjourned until 3 o'clock, p.m. . .

On motion of Mr. Curran, resolved, that any subordinate society numbering less than twenty members, unable to pay the expenses of a delegate from their body to attend the first meeting of the National Society, shall be authorized to appoint a proxy from the contributing members of the nearest society in the district of country where the National Society shall meet, fully instructed to act for them.

On motion of Mr. Johnston, resolved further, that it be the duty of the local societies to acquaint the Corresponding Secretary of this Convention with the result of their deliberations upon the ratification of the constitution, as early as convenient. . .

On motion of Mr. Krauth, resolved, that Mr. James Clephane, delegate from Washington; Mr. James F. Haliday, from Harrisburgh; and Mr. A. F. Cunningham, from New Orleans; be a committee to revise the Address to the Printers of the United States; and, in conjunction with the Secretary, superintend the publication and issuing of the same to all the societies in the United States.

On motion of Mr. Johnston, resolved, that 2,000 copies of the Proceedings of this Convention, together with the Address, be printed in pamphlet form, and forwarded to the different societies throughout the United States; and that the Committee on Publication be authorized to have such portion published in the different newspapers of this city, as they may deem proper: and that editors throughout the United States, friendly

to the objects contemplated, be requested to publish such portions in their respective papers.

On motion of James H. Haliday, resolved, that the Committee on Publication be authorized to address a letter to all the associations in the United States which have favored the project of forming a National Society, requesting them to forward their portion of the necessary funds to defray the expenses of publication, &c. . .

(c) CALL FOR THE 1837 CONVENTION

Public Ledger, July 21, 1837, p. 2, col. 5.

NATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. To journeymen Printers throughout the U. States. Notice is hereby given, that the Delegates composing the above Institution, will hold their first meeting in the city of New York, on the first Monday of September next, (1837).

From information already received from various parts of the country, the undersigned cannot but express his great gratification at the cheering prospects afforded, of the Profession being generally represented. Our brethren are alive to the subject in New Orleans, Mobile, Natchez, Nashville, Lexington (Ky.), Jackson (Missouri), Washington, D.C., Harrisburg, Pa., Cincinnati, Ohio, Richmond, Va., Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, from all which places delegates will be present, and no doubt from many others, of which, as yet, no advices have come to hand.

It is earnestly hoped that a matter of so much importance to the Craft, will not be neglected in any city, town or village of the land, but that the east, the west, the north and the south will cordially join in the praiseworthy effort to bind together the interests and feelings, and elevate the character and standing of the profession.

CHARLES A. DAVIS, Cor. Sec'ry.

N.B. The several Societies of Printers throughout the country, as well as the different Chapels or individuals where no Societies are formed, are respectfully requested to give the above as much publicity as possible.

(d) THE CONVENTION OF 1837

Public Ledger, Sept. 9, 1837, p. 2, col. 5.

The proceedings of this convention have not been found, but the following account was issued by a committee "appointed to request the editors of the *Public Ledger* to publish the proceedings of the National Typographical Convention."

NEW YORK, Sept. 7th, 1837.

GENTLEMEN: The delegates composing the National Typographical Convention assembled at the City Hall in this city on Monday last, at 12 o'clock, and organized themselves by appointing Mr. James Clephane, from Washington city, Chairman; Mr. E. Winchester, from Mobile, Assistant Chairman; Mr. James B. Beers, from Philadelphia, Secretary; and Mr. Wm. Sharpless, from Harrisburg, Assistant Secretary; after which a Committee was appointed to examine the credentials of delegates, who reported delegates from the following cities as entitled to seats in the Convention, viz.–Washington city, D.C.; Baltimore, Md.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Philadelphia, Pa.; New York city; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Cincinnati, Ohio; New Orleans, La.; and Mobile, Ala. In addition to which, letters were received from various sections of the country, approving of the objects of the Convention.

Great harmony has prevailed throughout the session. Even upon those points where the sentiments of members were most diversified, a spirit of mutual concession seemed to animate all; and the measures adopted will be presented to the profession as the unanimous voice of delegates assembled from portions of the country some thousands of miles apart.

In conclusion we will say, that there is undoubtedly a cheering prospect of Reform in the Typographical community; and from the information elicited in the way of debate, and enthusiastic determination is every where manifest to establish a steadfast union of interest and fellowship among the craft in the United States.

It is hoped, gentlemen, that as members of the New York Typographical Association, you will, through your widely circulated paper, give such countenance and support to the institution of the National Typographical Convention as in your judgment may seem best calculated to promote its welfare.

The following named gentlemen were duly elected officers of the National Typographical Convention for one year: *President*, Mr. A. J. W. Jackson, Baltimore; *V. President*, Wm. P. Stratton, Cincinnati; *Rec. Secretary*, Wm. Wellington, Philad.; *Cor. Secretary*, Charles A. Davis, N. York; *Treasurer*, Jas. Clephane, Washington City. Very respectfully, yours,

JAMES B. BEERS, CHARLES A. DAVIS, A. V. STEPHENS.

Committee appointed to request the editors of the *Public Ledger* to publish the proceedings of the National Typographical Convention.

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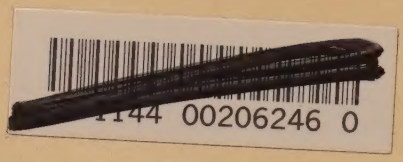
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